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THE WOMAN VOTER

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

Vol. III. NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1912 No. 1

Woman Suffrage in New York

An Open Letter to Ida Tarbell

Suffrage in The French Parliament

Chats with Men on Votes for Women

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FEBRUARY, 1912

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THE INLAND FARMER

By Sarah Noble-Ives.

Illustrated by the Author.

II.—THE STIRRING OF THE CHRYSALIS.

MELISSY an' me wuz a-gittin' the corn in, the load in the cart wuz piled high,
The shocks stood up handsome, an' ripe yeller punkins wuz winkin' an' whisperin' "Pie!"
The Crows wuz a-cawin' their sad disapp'intment, an' gittin' their noise fer their pains,
The old hoss wuz stompin'—Melissy clumb up, an' I follered an' took up the reins.

I felt mighty chipper; the harvest wuz good—hundred bushels per acre at least!
Meliss—she sot tired-like, loppin', an' dumb ez a gate when the hinges is greased.
"Cheer up, Girl!" I sez, "ye look down in the mouth; they's no cause, sech a day ter look blue;
I'm goin' ter town in the mornin', an' mebbe I'll git some nice mittens fer you."

"I don't want no mittens. I hate an' despise 'em! I'll throw 'em away ef you do.
You needn't git nothin'! I'm jest down discouraged. I wisht I wa'n't married to you!"
My jaws tumbled open. "Meliss! What's the matter? You ain't acted nat'ral this Fall."
"The matter is here: I'm jest tired of grubbin' an' grubbin' fer nothin' at all.

"It's dishes an' cookin' an' hoein' an' diggin' an' scrubbin' an' milkin' an' then
The same thing ter-morrer an' so on, forever, all over an' over again.
I wanter be livin'! I'm young, an' got feelin's. You know it, Hi Tinkum, an' still
You give me no chanst but ter drudge night an' mornin'. I wanter be free—an' I will!

"When you go inter town you kin git me a *Franchise!* Exackly what 'tis I dunno,
But it makes men the lords o' Creation an' all—Polly Bliss wuz a-tellin' me so."
"Meliss, you're a goose, with yer Franchise! Now see—ef you cried fer the Moon, an' it came,
You wouldn't know how ter git on with the critter—an' Politics they is the same."

Melissy snapped back: "What do you know, Hi Tinkum, uv runnin' a steamboat, er yet
Uv drivin' an auto? But ef you should git one, you'd l'arn how ter shov'er, I bet!
Ef I hed a Franchise, I'd l'arn how to use her. What's more, Hi, I know how ter drive
Yer silly old hoss, yet you never would trust me, fer fear he would eat me alive."

"A woman can't handle a hoss; it ain't safe!"
Sez Meliss: "Well, you jest let me try!
Old Billy's got spavins an' springhalt an' heaves, an' with this load o' corn he can't fly!
I've acquired some muscle in helpin' you farm—an' I've got somethin' else I call 'brains'!"
Now, I ain't understood what she wants, even yet—but *I handed Melissy the reins!*

(*To be continued*)

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"MELISS, SHE SOT TIRED-LIKE"

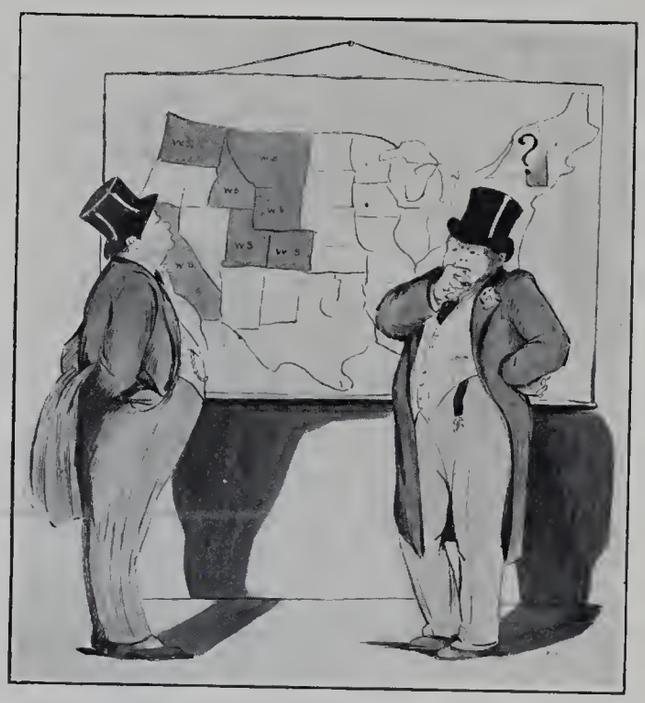
WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK

POLITICS in New York is in a pretty muddle and it is hard to tell just where woman suffrage stands in the mèlée. Certainly the movement for equal franchise was never stronger than it is this moment. Our organizations are more compact and active; we have more members of the Legislature of New York pledged than ever before; and the glorious victory in California has given a new impetus to the cause. But the divided condition of the Legislature may work against us or for us.

In the election of 1910 the voters of the State repudiated at the polls the Republican candidates and elected a Democratic Governor, Senate, and Assembly. However, in the election for the Assembly in 1911, the Republicans were able to win a large majority of the seats. Thus we have a Republican Assembly, and a Democratic Senate. Consequently, responsibility is placed in neither Party. Whatever happens at Albany this Winter, each Party can blame the other or claim immunity from censure.

On the other hand many things are favorable to us. The Republicans in the Assembly may "put it up to" the Senate to adopt or defeat a resolution for our constitutional amendment. Or the Democratic Senate may give the Republican Assembly a chance to defeat this measure of justice. More than once in the history of the suffrage, justice has been wrested from the politicians by playing one Party off against the other. Disraeli sought to "dish" the Liberal Party forever in England, by enfranchising in 1867, the workingmen. And Gladstone tried the same game on the Conservatives in 1884 by enfranchising the agricultural laborers. What an interesting situation it would create if the two Parties "jockeying for position" at Albany should be willing to do justice for the sake of Party gain?

Then, there are other important factors which must not be overlooked. This is the presidential year. The revival of the Democratic Party in many parts of the country where it had long been moribund, is making the Republicans stay awake at night to figure on the situation. The contest next autumn is bound to be hot and close, too. It may be 1896 over again, and in 1896 the Republican Party in its platform went on record as favoring the advancement of women in modern life, and appealed directly to women to aid in the campaign against Bryanism. The Republicans were frightened and they turned to women to



help them out in their distress. At that time the number of women voters in the United States was pitifully small indeed; but now we have grown.

Can the Party that appealed to women for their support in 1896 ignore women in 1912?

Can the Democratic Party, bidding for the progressive West, ignore the enfranchised women of California, Washington, Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah?

The answer must be in the negative. All Parties must now take into account the power of woman's ballot in the States dedicated to political freedom.

Now, at first glance it may seem a far cry from the legislative situation at Albany to the presidential election. But on second thought you will see that it is not a far cry. The political leaders of both Parties in this State are grooming their forces for the fray. The passage of the woman suffrage amendment would put both Parties on record in favor of the doctrine of equal franchise which has been so heartily endorsed in the West. Such an action would not endanger the chances of either Party in New York, for the amendment must be approved by another Legislature before its submission to the people. On the other hand it would put both Parties on record as favoring a principle of justice which is realized

by the women of six States whose votes for President cannot be ignored.

National Parties cannot stand for equal justice for women in six States where they are enfranchised and then repudiate the principle in other States. It is therefore encumbent upon the Parties in this State to go on record in favor of our cause.

It may be said that this is putting our cause on a low basis of "main chance"; and that we ought not to ask for anything until we have converted all the legislators to the righteousness of our faith. Now politicians are not devoid of a sense of righteousness; but they have open eyes to the "instant need of things." They cannot be expected to cut the ground from under their own feet merely for the sake of a "cause"; but they are wonderfully docile and obliging when they can combine righteousness with a good opportunity to win victories at the polls.

We have a double duty this Winter and Summer and Autumn. We must bring the organized "constituency push" to bear upon our respective legislators.

We must bring the pressure of the West to bear in the East. We cannot vote here, but we all have enfranchised women friends in the West. Let us write them and ask them for the sake of our great common cause to lend us their votes this year by voting against the Party or Parties which go on record against us here this Winter.

It is therefore in the hands of New York women to bring political pressure to bear as never before.

Members of the New York Legislature, we await your answer to our demand for equal justice.

We are gaining power every day—in education, in industrial and business fields, in intelligent interest in and understanding of the issues of our day, and in the onward march of enfranchisement. Beware that you do not grant justice too late.

Women of New York: write to your legislators—begin your campaign among your friends in the enfranchised States to win women over for a big effort next Autumn to penalize our enemies.

Cajolery and begging will not do. We demand our rights. We will be heard. We will punish our foes.

THE Senate remains as it was last year. The following is a list of New York City assemblymen. Pick out the one who was elected from the district in which you live and write him at once. Also write to members of the two Judiciary Committees that you expect them to vote the suffrage bill out of committee this time.

MANHATTAN

1 Thomas B. Caughlan, Democrat, Fruit Broker, 81 Varick Street, N. Y.
2 Alfred E. Smith, Democrat, Real Estate, 25 Oliver Street, N. Y.
3 John C. Fitzgerald, Democrat, Cement Co., 175 Second Avenue, N. Y.
4 Aaron J. Levy, Democrat, Lawyer, 307 E. Broadway, N. Y.
5 James J. Walker, Democrat, Lumber, 6 St. Luke's Place, N. Y.
6 Harry Kopp, Republican, Lawyer, 89 Avenue B, N. Y.
7 Peter P. McElligott, Democrat, Lawyer, 428 West 24th Street, N. Y.
8 Moritz Graubard, Democrat, Manager, 276 Grand Street, N. Y.
9 John C. Hackett, Democrat, Contractor, 500 West 41st Street, N. Y.
10 Meyer Greenberg, Democrat, Lawyer, 104 Second Avenue, N. Y.
11 John J. Boylan, Democrat, Real Estate, 402 West 51st Street, N. Y.
12 James A. Foley, Democrat, Lawyer, 316 East 18th Street, N. Y.
13 James C. Campbell, Democrat, Undertaker, 842 Tenth Avenue, N. Y.
14 John J. Herrick, Democrat, Real Estate, 149 East 40th Street, N. Y.
15 Henry J. Crawford, Republican, Attorney, 99 Nassau Street, N. Y.
16 Martin G. McCue, Democrat, Manager, 699 Third Avenue, N. Y.
17 Franklin Brooks, Republican, Lawyer, 32 Nassau Street, N. Y.
18 Mark Goldberg, Democrat, Lawyer, 222 East 72d Street, N. Y.
19 Andrew F. Murray, Republican, Lawyer, 45 Broadway, N. Y.
20 Patrick J. McGrath, Democrat, Lawyer, 300 East 81st Street, N. Y.
21 Dean Nelson, Republican, Lawyer, 76 West 131st Street, N. Y.
22 Edward Weil, Democrat, Lawyer, 224 East 87th Street, N. Y.
23 Sidney C. Crane, Republican, Lawyer, 116 Nassau Street, N. Y.
24 Thomas A. Brennan, Democrat, Lawyer, 150 East 91st Street, N. Y.
25 Francis R. Stoddard, Jr., Republican, Lawyer, 102 Waverly Place, N. Y.
26 Abraham Goodman, Republican, Lawyer, 1263 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.
27 Charles A. Dana, Republican, Lawyer, 55 West 51st Street, N. Y.
28 Jacob Levy, Democrat, Lawyer, 1885 Lexington Avenue, N. Y.
29 Thomas S. Coleman, Republican, Insurance, 859 Lexington Avenue, N. Y.
31 Max Shlivek, Republican, Lawyer, 56 West 114th Street, N. Y.

THE BRONX

30 Louis A. Cuvillier, Democrat, Lawyer, 172 East 122d Street, N. Y.
32 Morris S. Shector, Republican, Lawyer, 445 East 140th Street, N. Y.
33 William B. Ruddick, Ind. League, Superintendent, 627 Eagle Avenue, N. Y.
34 Charles I. Fleck, Ind. League, Real Estate, 1788 Bathgate Avenue, N. Y.
35 John Yule, Republican, Builder, 943 Grant Avenue, N. Y.

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1 Daniel Barnes, Republican, Real Estate and Ins., 24 Schermerhorn Street, Brooklyn.
2 W. J. Gillen, Democrat, Bookkeeper, 12 Vanderbilt Avenue, Brooklyn.
3 Michael O'Neil, Democrat, Lawyer, 12 Luqueer Street, Brooklyn.
4 George Langhorst, Republican, Printer, 133 Rutledge Street, Brooklyn.
5 Abraham Lent, Republican, Physician, 960 Jefferson Avenue, Brooklyn.
6 George Herberger, Republican, Real Estate, 451 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.
7 Daniel Farrell, Democrat, Hatter, 378 Seventeenth Street, Brooklyn.
8 John J. McKeon, Democrat, Real Estate, 413 Smith Street, Brooklyn.
9 Albert Banzhof, Republican, Lawyer, 75 Eighty-second Street, Brooklyn.
10 Fred. Ahern, Republican, Lawyer, 425 Sterling Place, Brooklyn.
11 W. W. Colne, Republican, Sale of Domestic and Foreign Patents, 11 Irving Place, Brooklyn.
12 F. W. Singleton, Republican, Insurance Broker, 503 Eighth Avenue, Brooklyn.
13 Chas. Schmitt, Republican, Lithographer, 9 Judge Street, Brooklyn.
14 J. J. Garvey, Democrat, Cigar Dealer, 78 Nassau Avenue, Brooklyn.
15 T. E. Willmott, Democrat, Piano Maker, 222 N. Henry Street, Brooklyn.
16 F. S. Chiltin, Republican, Lawyer, 1657 East Second Street, Brooklyn.
17 E. A. Ebbets, Republican, Real Estate, 550 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn.
18 A. W. Hoff, Republican, Lawyer, 460 Stratford Road, Brooklyn.
19 Jacob Schifferdecker, Democrat, Real Estate, 225 Hamburg Avenue, Brooklyn.
20 Frank Bennett, Republican, Builder and Real Estate, 1362 Bushwick Avenue, Brooklyn.
21 Harry Heyman, Democrat, Butcher, 319 Lorimer Street, Brooklyn.
22 E. R. W. Karutz, Republican, Lawyer, 26 Court Street, Brooklyn.
23 W. F. Mathewson, Republican, Insurance Broker, 41 Granite Street, Brooklyn.

QUEENS

1 Andrew Zorn, Democrat, Real Estate, 391 Fourth Avenue, L. I. City.
2 Alfred J. Kennedy, Democrat, Real Estate, 27 So. Eleventh Avenue, White Stone.
3 Adam Metz, Jr., Fusion, Plumber, 552 Grove Street, Ridgewood Heights.
4 James A. Bell, Republican, Real Estate, 98 Grand Avenue, Richmond Hill.

RICHMOND

Ralph R. McKee, Democrat, Tea Importer, Tompkinsville, S. I.

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CONSIDERABLE publicity has been given to a controversy now raging in England as to whether the word *obey* should be omitted from the marriage ceremony. The interviews on both sides of the water have been rather spicy. For example, one of the well-known English women has insisted that what England wants is English, not American wives. It is needless to say that that woman wishes to retain the word obey. The Archbishop of Canterbury has been quoted, but the interesting fact is that the established church has its lawful ritual binding on all its clergy alike so that his personal opinion of the value of such a word in the ceremony is of no consequence. American women who have been asked to express an opinion have for the most part deplored the insertion of any such word, but have failed to satisfy the reporters when they have stated that no substitute is necessary. "Just omit it" has seemed to leave the masculine mind paralyzed and it has groped for synonyms and platitudes. On the contrary we understand that the Rev. James Ecob has been one among the men who has been willing for the omission. He has drawn up a modern ceremony which we hope to print next month.

At the Woman's University Club, on November 28th, Mrs. Emily Montague Bishop gave a suffrage reading which consisted of scenes from the United States Senate. It was not only a reading, but also a series of impersonations of our best known senators. The audience was entertained for an hour and then demanded more. The men especially were appreciative and amused. In this reading, entitled, "Man, Woman's Equal," Mrs. Bishop has succeeded in introducing both humor and originality into a suffrage address.

THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE Men's League of New York has started out on a most energetic campaign this winter which must inevitably result in a quickened interest among our Legislators at Albany. Through the efforts of the present executive secretary, Mr. R. C. Beadle, the membership of the Men's League has been classified into assembly districts according to the plan followed by The Woman Suffrage Party. Every man, therefore, who believes in Votes for Women in New York State will be pressed into service in the "constituency push" during the present session of the Legislature.

This is a chance for co-operation between men and women suffragists. Let the women see to it that their husbands, brothers, sons and fathers hear of the Men'sLeague and enroll in it or, at least, attend meetings and get rid of the idea that the members of the Men's League are mollycoddles. Let the men of our families learn why other men believe in equal suffrage. On the other hand, let every member of the Men's League see to it that his women friends and relatives come into touch with the women's suffrage societies and so get the point of view of intelligent women.

The Men's League thus organized for action will hold local suffrage meetings in the various districts among the voters. A public dinner and a mass meeting will serve as a union of forces in New York City a little later in the season. The Men's League is composed of the kind of men among whom other men ought to be proud to be counted. They are intelligent and far-seeing citizens who know that it is to the interest of men as well as of women to have equal suffrage.

All our male readers who have not yet joined the Men's League are urged to sign, cut and mail the following coupon at once.

Executive Secretary of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage
11 Broadway, New York City

The undersigned, being a voter in the State of New York, desires to become a member of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage:

Name.....

Address.....

"I have everything I want;
For the vote I need not try."
And she stood for anti-suffrage,
With the accent on the I.
—Barnard College *Bulletin*.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT.

THE movement for woman suffrage in France has not been accompanied by the spectacular features which have centered the attention of the world on the conflict in England; but a large number of shrewd observers of French political affairs have repeatedly asserted that enfranchisement in the republic will precede the law of emancipation in England. Whether the prophecy is true or not, it is a fact of striking significance that the French Chamber of Deputies recently referred the subject of enfranchisement in local government to a committee for thorough investigation. The report and favorable recommendations have been duly laid before the Chamber, and it is a document of high interest and value (Chambre des Députés: Documents Parlementaires. Annexes; 1909-10, 9 Oct.-2 Mai; No. 2716, p. 2527).

The report opens with a review of the electoral rights of women in France since 1789. This is followed by a survey of the history and present status of the movement for woman suffrage in England, the United States, Australasia, Canada, South Africa, the Scandinavian countries, Finland, Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The statistical tables and digest are followed by the conclusions of the committee from which the following striking passages are given in free translation slightly condensed:

The survey which we have just made of the legislation of the various countries at the present time warns us against the temptation to commit an anachronism. That would be to take up to-day the principle in the general and theoretical terms in which it was stated by Condorcet, Stuart Mill, Laboulaye, or even Charles Secretin. For them it was a philosophic, moral, and social question of a speculative nature; to-day it is within the domain of observable facts. It is true that only a small number of nations have adopted, and quite recently at that, complete woman suffrage. But if one prepares a list of all the countries in which woman suffrage is adopted for local elections for local councils which represent the first degree of civic functions, it is no longer a few islets lost in distant seas which one has to reckon with. It is England, Scotland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, an immense area of the United States, all Northern Europe, Holland, and Bohemia. The current of world opinion to-day is far from being favorable to the status quo. The lonesome persons to-day are not the suffragists; they are the anti-suffragists. It is France that is in arrears. The great majority of the world have left us decidedly behind and the laugh is

no longer on our side. We remain isolated—with Spain and Turkey. In order to resist a general movement so forcible in character one should have arguments. And what are the arguments? . . . . .

We may, for convenience, group them under four main heads: physiological, intellectual, moral, and political. We are informed that woman cannot, without compromising the essential function which nature has assigned to her, be tied down to the regular labor of man or exposed to the storms and fatigues of public life, or constantly strive violently to play a rôle which she can only play to the detriment of her normal life. Whatever value one may assign to the criticism against the employment of women in the different industrial, commercial and professional pursuits, it certainly does not present a serious obstacle to the right of voting. However fragile the weaker sex may be, it is difficult to believe that it would break down under the weight of a function which is to be exercised only once every two years . . . . What is the danger to the future of the race of voting and being elected to office compared to the relentless labor imposed upon millions of women in industries?

It is said that woman, not being liable to military service should not vote. By neither logic nor law is the suffrage linked with military service. The one is not the condition of the other. And even if woman should be classed with the conscripts excused from service, why should she not possess the civil right accorded to them? Was it not a woman of spirit who replied to Napoleon's brutal phrase: "We do not make war, it is true, sire; but we make soldiers?"

That women are inferior to men in intelligence is no longer an axiom to-day. It is hard to take up a discussion which all the world knows to be inane . . . . Let us reply with M. Faguet: "Forbid women if you will to assume functions which demand genius. And then find functions exercised by men which demand genius. . . . . The immense majority of masculine employments are routine in character and may be learned in a few years by the most ordinary feminine mind. But it is said that women are unfitted for politics; they do not have the political capacity required for public offices; they do not have general ideas. It is necessary to laugh once in a while . . . . Women have general ideas exactly like ours, that is, passions more or less elegantly clothed in ideas. They would vote exactly under the same conditions as we do.

The committee then considers the moral objection that voting would overturn the delicately carved pedestal upon which woman stands and leave her in a nasty mire of politics, and refers to French literature on the subject.

Finally the committee takes up the familiar argument against woman suffrage—that women are liable to fall under the control of the conservatives, particularly the clergy. They are convinced, however, that, while there would have been danger in this direction twenty or thirty years ago, at the present time women are as active intellectually as the men. Thanks to the schools, one seldom finds to-day the woman who is totally ignorant, a stranger to the life of her country, a credulous believer in rumors, and incapable of a reasonable judgment. Moreover, everywhere—in morals, in family life, the factory, and the school—woman has brought alleviation, more justice, and more foresight—such at least is the testimony of the countries which have admitted women to the suffrage.

At the conclusion of its luminous and interesting report—characterized throughout by that reasonableness, detachment, and clarity of which the French are enviable masters, the committee approves the proposition to confer the local and municipal suffrage on women and declares in favor of the general principle of equal suffrage. The committee refuses to consider the petty distinctions proposed in certain quarters; such as, the restriction of the vote to tax-paying women, or widows, unmarried women, or divorcees. On the contrary, it recommends the extension of the suffrage to women in local and municipal elections on the same terms as men, and looks forward to the not distant day when the Legislature will abolish the distinction between local and general suffrage and admit women to full citizenship.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Anti-Suffragist off to lecture on "Why Women Should Stay at Home.

FIVE REASONS WHY I BELIEVE IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE

1. Freedom demands that law should not unnecessarily limit the action of individuals: woman is an individual; therefore, law should not unnecessarily limit her. If any of the women want suffrage, they should have it.

2. Justice demands that there be no discrimination against class. Why, against sex? A government of the people, for the people, and *by* the people should include *all* the people. Are women people? If not, what are they?

3. Representative government, in which classes are represented by one of their number, demands that women represent women. Men cannot represent women, unless there are no differences in the nature of the two. If there are no differences, then there is even less logic in excluding them from equal representation.

4. Women need the vote. Economic conditions have long been forcing women into labor in factory and shop, because the industries of the home have gradually been taken there. The primitive home was the cradle and the primitive woman was the mother of all industries connected with food, shelter, clothing, domestication of animals, agriculture, and the primitive arts. Man fathered them and took the large brood, one by one from woman, at first, shamefacedly enough, for he scorned woman's work. But longer intervals of peace wrought the change in his labors, unconsciously. He took them to factory and shop, specialized and invented, where woman, a necessary Jack of all trades, had generalized. Unconsciously, too, she followed them there, and thousands upon thousands of women do, in mass, for society, what the individual woman formerly did in her home for her own family. The freedom that makes work creative is gone. The love that lightened labor has given way before enforced drudgery. Women and men alike, are exploited for the benefit of the owner, not for society's needs. And women are denied the ballot, the only weapon, however inadequate, that the present system offers.

5. Politics need women. Government beginning as a war-council, with men as warriors, has taken up the control of industries, as its men have become industrial. Now it is concerning itself, also, with questions that have to do with education, sanitation, health, and morals. Naturally enough, woman was left out of the war-councils; she was not a warrior. Somebody had to stay home and grow crops, weave cloth, raise animals, and bear and rear warriors. Less easily was woman left out of industrial councils, for she was a worker; but it is impossible to leave her out of government councils, when they come to deal with such vital questions as health, sanitation and moral welfare. We see the place for women in school legislation. Even the prejudiced man admits this. They are denied further entrance because, as yet, most men cannot interpret the meaning of society's movements.

After all, it is this dynamic quality of society that is the all-inclusive reason for universal suffrage. The dawn of a social conscience is coming—a consciousness as vital to society, as the individual consciousness is to the individual, for it is to work, with a conscious purpose, for society's welfare. As the industries of the primitive home moved out unconsciously, to feed and clothe the Nation, so the beauty and tenderness of the civilized home must move out, consciously, to make the Nation a home. There is a larger motherhood and a greater fatherhood and a universal brotherhood. The war-council was long ago doomed. The era of peace is dawning; women and men must labor together in the Nation for the greater good to the Nation.

VIDA SUTTON.

THE Wage-Earners' Suffrage League, so recently organized, has now been noised abroad and has aroused the greatest enthusiasm. Handbills are being distributed among all the factory and shop employees and many meetings are now under way among working women. The 24th of February a play will be given at the Women's Trade Union League, after which an informal talk and refreshments will be the order. A dance is to be given by the League in March and a mass meeting in April, at which working girls and working women will tell why they want to vote. Miss Leonora O'Reilly is president of this League.

THE Woman Suffrage Party has lantern slides and capable women to explain them, at the service of any district that can supply a lantern. One of the talks is a historical resumè; the other is a human interest talk. The printed lecture and the slides can be rented for a nominal sum to outsiders.

Miss Marion Burritt gives the historical talk and Mrs. Gertrude Murdock Duncan the more social one.

Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, of the 10th Assembly District, of Manhattan, are recent acquisitions to the Woman Suffrage Party. Both are tireless in their advocacy of suffrage and generous in responses to demands on their time. Mrs. Robinson has accepted the leadership of this district, where she is well known. She has one of the hardest sections of the town, but a number of fine, earnest women have offered to help her and a campaign will be planned at once.

PORTIA POLITICS

By Edith Bailey.

Illustrated by May Wilson Preston.

III—THE WEDDING BELLS.

HER wedding bells rang merrily, the bride was passing fair;
The pearls were big as marbles, a Bishop blessed the pair;
Poor Nellie Naught stood on the curb to see the pageant near:
"My, ain't she like a fairy queen, to never shed a tear."

As in a dream fair Portia saw herself a bride and wife,
A strange young man beside her, tied up to her for life;
'Twas love amid such chatter, such showering of gold—
Portia knew not if it were love, or, she were merely "sold."

They spent their honeymoon abroad, well chaperoned, be sure,
By Portia's maid, Dan's valet, a bull pup and chauffeur;
They did The Hague, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris and Rome,
In just six weeks, and then, by luck, they caught the Fly Swift home.

Home was a sumptuous suite of rooms in a superb hotel
Where all one asked in life would come, if one but touched a bell.
And Father Primrose paid the rent, and, pinching Portia's ear,
Observed, "You'd starve in half a day on what kept us a year."

Each morning, Portia had her bath, massage and her marcel,
Then dressed most carefully and went to functions highly swell.
As they were always dining out, she seldom saw her Dan—
He still remained a stranger, quite, a "Question Mark of Man."

At first, of course, it was great fun, and then a deadly bore;
Portia saw clearly that her life was emptier than before;
She sought the "Question Mark" and said, "Dan, dear, I long to do
Some work that's worth while in the world; now why can't I help you?"

"Help me, go in for politics; tut, tut, my lovely one,
You soon would find the game I play is not your kind of fun.
You are a queen, my Portia, the Queen job is your fate."
"I'm tired of the Queen job, and thrones are out of date.

"I often envy Nellie Naught who makes our windows shine,
She's married now to Peter Poor, a switchman on the line;
While I am moping through the day, a useless idle sinner—
Nell works and sings, and then goes home to cook her Peter's dinner.

"And we dine out and sit apart, as is deemed most polite;
I chatter social nothings, to my partners left and right;
When I wake in the morning, you've started off downtown.
I'm lonelier than a widow," and Portia paused to frown.

"Some work! The streets are dirty, I'd like to use a broom,
I'd like to clean a city as a woman cleans her home;
Upon the Park Commission I wish you'd put me, pray;
Was it not in a garden woman had first her say?

"And then the schools, the children, they are a woman's care;
Put me up on the school board." Dan cried, "I'm not the mayor;
Portia, my dear, are you quite mad with all this modern slush
Of women wandering forth to make of public life a mush?

"Remember Blue Beard's wife, my dear, defiant of his law,
When in the closet closed she looked, remember what she saw."
"It was quite time," scoffed Portia, "that door was opened wide
And that room disinfected, and cleaned out well beside."

Her husband turned upon her in sad and angry fret.
"Heavens," he cried, "and am I wed to a wild suffragette?
You seemed a tender flower, blooming man's lot to cheer
Who ne'er would wish to wander from your appointed 'sphere.' "

"My sphere! My sphere! What is it?" Thus Portia coldly cried;
"It's limited and bounded on each and every side.
Upon the south by you, Dan, and north and east and west,
By countless social trifles that matter not the least."

However, I'll be patient, repentance is too late,
I will assume my woman's rôle, and for a while, I'll wait."

(*To be continued*)

NOTE.—The Children's Page, edited by Mrs. Bailey, had to be held over until another issue.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MISS IDA M. TARBELL

YOU are no doubt the most powerful opponent of equal suffrage among the ranks of the women who are working against the enfranchisement of "the sex." By your studies in history and economics you have shown that you possess powers of analysis and reasoning which men complacently believed were their own peculiar monopoly. You have gone out into the field of literary and political criticism and fifty years ago you would have been deemed an outlaw from the feminine world. You have escaped "the functions of the sex" and to use your own argument, you have thereby lessened the importance and influence of women in the world. Everything that takes woman from "her peculiar place and power in the world" you gravely inform us helps to destroy her influence in the world; precept and practice you add, not politics, make for the advance of principles. Surely your study of Standard Oil policies has destroyed your sense of humor or distorted your feeling for values.

In your introduction to "The Woman's Book of Power" you tell us that the treatment of the question of woman suffrage in the United States during the past sixty-five years has resulted in the vulgarization of the woman it sought to dignify. If you had not shown more regard for the plain truth in your other writings, they would have gone to the rubbish heap long ago. Woman has been vulgarized by the activities of women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Emma Willard, Jane Addams, Florence Kelly, and a host of other noble workers who have labored in many fields, spreading the light everywhere and advocating political power for women in season and out. Fifty years ago reactionary writers like yourself were claiming that women (of the middle class, of course) would be vulgarized by entering the walks of higher learning, by taking up the professions, and by using their brains as well as their "functions." You recognize how false and stupid has been this prophecy of the calamity shriekers of old. You know how far woman has advanced in the development of her personality during the last few decades; you know and use as an argument against woman suffrage the marvelous achievements which have been made during recent years. Woman has not been vulgarized by doing nameless and unhonored drudgery, she has not been vulgarized by being forced into factories, she has not been vulgarized by scrubbing the floors of the office buildings on her knees, she has not been vulgarized by sorting coal at the breakers; or, if she has, your philosophy of precept and principle will give her the gloss of respectability. No, woman has just been vulgarized by asking for the vote. Shades of O. Henry, Twain, and Rabelais! What a havoc time hath wrought with reason!

The fact that large advances have been made in some particular line is always used by the obscurantist against further advances, and of all clear-sighted persons of America, you, Miss Tarbell, have long been regarded as among the first. Woman's control over her personal property has been established, her position in the factory has been somewhat safeguarded, hospitals have been erected for her betterment—presto—there is no need for the ballot because all things come to her who stands and waits. Perhaps the things that have come would not have been here had woman waited in the home, the hovel, the sweatshop, or —the brothel—for man, the chivalrous. Perhaps. When one has read through your argument in this line he feels very much like Christian after his celebrated fall into the celebrated morass of old.

Finally—for there is an end to all things—you tell us that life is not saved by politics but by principles inculcated—not by votes and legislation—but by precept and practice. Lovely. No suffragist claims that woman lives by ballots and public service commission reports alone, but every suffragist knows—if you don't—that the most fundamental things in the common life of the common woman are directly involved in politics. Of course, if everybody were good, we could all sit down and be sweet. But suffragists are more practical than you, Miss Tarbell. If all factory owners and bosses were charming and thought nothing of profits but only of giving higher wages and better sanitary conditions, working women might harken to your hopeful philosophy of anarchy. But, taking the world as it is, we force factory owners to maintain certain standards by law and fine them if they don't. That is, we do this theoretically and wherever trade unionists are alive and back their organizations with the ballot; but women can't vote. Their demands are gentle zephyrs—and just as unavailing. Why don't you suggest to the Standard Oil Company that it ought to be good and then show Mr. Rockefeller how good you can be yourself on occasion? No Government interference, no politics, no vote, just precept and principles! A manufacturer poisons your food.

Don't fine him or imprison him—show him a beatific vision of virtue enshrined in a precept. Evil has never been restrained by law—just by principle, precept, and meekness. The tyranny of kings has been broken by gentle remarks on goodness. Shades of Charles I and Louis XVI! The common man has been enfranchised by standing and waiting with becoming modesty. Shades of William Cobbett and Thomas Jefferson! Factory conditions have not been improved by laws, but by gentleness alone. Shades of Oastler and Shaftesbury! The serfs broke their bondage by showing the lords the beauty of holiness. Lincoln answered Sumpter by a call to prayers.

It is too much. No suffragist denies the place of precept and principle in life. But the suffragist knows the place of politics in life, and that is why, Miss Tarbell, the face of the suffragist is toward the morning, and yours is toward the setting sun.

JANE THOMPSON.

Washington, D. C.

To the Editor.

Dear Madam:

Realizing the sense of justice and liberality which animates the modern woman, I do not hesitate to ask space in your journal to set right a few misunderstandings which seem to exist in regard to the standpoint of anti-suffrage. It has been repeatedly stated in your journal that anti-suffragists are opposed to any development for women outside the home. This is not true. Anti-suffragists hold that the preservation of home-life and especially child-life is woman's paramount duty and that until her duty in that respect is ably performed, she will have little time for other less important things—such as politics and military service, even if women stood for war and not for peace. That anti-suffragists are not, however, reactionary, is proved by the presence in their midst of such women as Ida Tarbell, Dr. Lucy Barrister, Jeannette Gilder and Minnie Bronson. There can be mentioned no women in the Suffrage Party more able or public-spirited than these. What anti-suffrage stands for is progress along right lines, avoiding party politics including the "fat official salaries and sight-seeing junketings" which create envy in the breast of Mrs. Husted Harper, and conservation. They see no hope in the ballot, recognizing that as regards political matters, what is wanted is more stability and more intelligence. The mass of women possess less political intelligence than men and are more unstable.

In conclusion let me say that I am glad to see the comparison made between the status of women and soldiers in your first article. It is an example I have often made use of in order to prove that disfranchisement was no disgrace or dishonor. Soldiers and policemen are not even permitted "influence." Women's relation to the State is almost the same as that of soldiers—both risk their lives for the State, both are disfranchised, both are given rations, honor and retired pay.

Relying on your justice and broad-mindedness, I confidently anticipate your publication of these few corrections.

JULIA T. WATERMAN.

MODERN CHIVALRY

"Women, like soldiers, are given honor, rations and retired pay," says our Anti-Suffragist.

My Dear Mrs. Eno:

The very finest Christmas greeting I received was your kind letter enclosing a picture of my dearly-loved home. I am so pleased to have it; and a suffrage meeting there is a delight to my heart. I wonder if any of the beliefs and dreams I had in that house were left over for you. I wish that could be, for then I should feel quite a part of your meeting to-day.

I was a believer in suffrage long before I came to live in Queens, even when a girl in Massachusetts. Not for what *we* will *do* with it. That is not the reason we give the vote to any one, but for what it *will* do *for* us. I believe, too, that our failures in Nation, State and City are due to the fact that we need the mother element in any up-building. If we are to fulfil the nation's ideals, it will not be by material advancement alone, but by putting into this land the beauty, the regeneration, the uplift, which is our part in the work of the world.

I am sending you an interview in which you may be interested as it gives something of the dire need which should make us a part of the National Government.

With my heartiest wishes and thanking you personally,

Very sincerely yours,

SARAH S. PLATT DECKER.

SOCIALISM

By Herbert M. Merrill

It is generally admitted that one of the most significant features of the elections of 1911 was the enormous increase of the Socialist vote. This increase in some places reached hundreds of per cent. Even in conservative old New York State the industrial city of Schenectady was swept by a Socialist avalanche. People who never heard of Socialism before or else confused it with all sorts of outlandish "isms" began to "sit up and take notice." Victor L. Berger, the Socialist Congressman, predicted 2,000,000 votes for his party in 1912.

The Socialist movement is international—it is world-wide. Beneath North Star and Southern Cross; in lands of Occidental hustle and Oriental calm; on continents and islands of the sea, the call reverberates: "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing but your chains to lose. You have a world to gain."

It is hard to state the case of Socialism with dictionary-like conciseness and precision. Not because there are fifty-seven varieties, as some of its opponents allege, but because it means so much —is so all-inclusive of social phenomena. It is biology, sociology, psychology. It is evolution transmitted to a political movement of the working class. Many important points cannot be covered in the space allotted here, but I want to bring out the intimate relation of Socialism to the supreme problem of human life; the problem that appeals even more strongly to women than to men —the bread and butter problem.

Goods and chattels; food, shelter and clothing —all forms of wealth—are produced by labor, physical and mental. Now, it is a fundamental proposition of Socialism that the manner of producing the necessities of life determines all our social and political arrangements. Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism and Socialism stand for successive stages of wealth production and express themselves by corresponding political institutions.

Another fundamental proposition is the class struggle. Under capitalism, the existing system of wealth production, this struggle resolves itself into the efforts of the capitalist class, the owners of the tools of industry, to secure more profits, and the efforts of the working class to get more wages. When profits rise, wages fall and vice-versa. The interests of capitalist and worker are therefore diametrically opposed. It is only natural that the capitalist wants to buy labor power as cheaply as possible and that the worker wants to dispose of his labor power as dearly as possible. Labor is a commodity. Shirtwaist manufacturers buy the labor of girls as they buy cloth—in the cheapest market—and the value of girls is determined by the cost of living. The wages of labor under capitalism are measured in the long run by the cost of the workers to exist and reproduce their kind. They cannot rise higher because there are more laborers than jobs.

The production of wealth was once individual. It is now social, collective. My grandfather was a shoemaker and supplied a rural community with shoes. His tools were simple. He owned them and owning them secured the full product of his labor. But to-day shoes are made by machinery too costly for individual workers to use. Scores of workers co-operate with scores of machines in the production of a shoe. In order to produce shoes and make a living the shoemaker must have access to the machinery and he is only permitted access by consenting to give up the greater share of his product to the owner of the machine. And the machine itself—capital—but represents the accumulated product of labor. The great capitalist has simply appropriated to himself the labor product of thousands and tens of thousands of workers. The Rockefeller billion represents the nerve and muscle tissues—the very life blood—of myriads of human creatures.

But Rockefeller is not to blame. No individual capitalist is to blame. It is the industrial system. This system divides mankind into owners and users of the productive machinery of the country; into capitalists and workers, masters and slaves.

Socialism will make the users the owners and insure to the workers, male and female, the full product of their toil. But the era of individual production is over. The gigantic machine and trustified organizations of industry have taken their place. The era of collective production is here. The workers cannot own the means of life individually and so they must own them collectively. They use them together and they must own them together. Socialism is the collective ownership and democratic management of the means of production and distribution of wealth—industry for and by the people. Collective ownership of things that are used collectively and private ownership of things that are used individually. Public ownership of factories, mines, railways, telegraphs, etc.; private ownership of

homes, clothes, vehicles, etc. Instead of destroying private property, Socialism will insure the possession of property to scores of millions who have nothing to-day worthy of the name.

Socialists do not tell you exactly how the capital in the hands of private individuals is going to be taken over by the people, but they tell you how it *can be done*. There are several ways. The particular one adopted will be determined when the hour of capitalism has struck.

Socialism will solve the out-of-work problem. An army of unemployed is created by the capitalist system. The capitalist does not and cannot consume wealth in the same proportion as the worker and the worker can only buy back a fraction of the wealth that he has produced. Hence in course of time markets are glutted with unsold goods and industrial crises ensue. And when factories and railroads lay off hands, little children cry for bread.

Socialists are accused of preaching class hatred but they only preach class consciousness. The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class goes on without cessation and turns out an Otis and McNamara with unfailing regularity. Vain to talk about peace in the midst of war. Vain to declare the interests of labor and capital identical as the amiable ladies and gentlemen of the Civic Federation do. So long as the capitalist is unable to get a greater proportion of a given product without the laborer getting less and vice-versa, just so long is the class struggle bound to endure. There is no escape from the logic of this simple proposition. Socialists did not make the class struggle and they point out its existence in order to end it forever. They invite the workers and all others who recognize the class struggle, to unite under the banners of the Socialist Party, and restore the product of labor to the producers and put an end to strikes, lock-outs and black-lists.

In order to become masters of life and inaugurate industrial democracy it is necessary for the workers to capture the political power. The writer is the first Socialist to enter the New York Assembly, but he will not be the last. Probably he will accomplish little directly, but he will focus the attention of the workers on the political movement that has for its slogan: "To the worker, the full product of his toil." His fellows of the old political organizations will have to make increased concessions to the demands of labor in order to postpone the inevitable day of Socialism's ultimate triumph. *And labor demands the political enfranchisement of women.*

Woman has been accorded economic and political equality with man from the very inception of the Socialist movement. Men and women stand on equal footing in the counsels of Socialism the world over. A woman was the candidate of the Socialist Party for Secretary of State of New York in 1910, and a woman is serving on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. If the Socialists of some few localities have put the demand of women for equal suffrage in the background, it is because the economic enfranchisement of both men and women has seemed infinitely more important.

Socialism stands for economic security. No wolves of poverty and hunger will haunt the homes of the co-operative commonwealth. The machinery of production is capable of satisfying the wants of all. There will be a place for every son and daughter at the table of opportunity. Under Socialism the return of woman's toil will be commensurate with that of man's—the full social value of her labor. No reason longer to sell her body and soul for clothes and shelter—to become the sexual slave and household drudge of an unloved husband. For the ideal conjugal love as well as the brotherhood of man awaits Socialism for realization.

Jan. 6, 1912.

Mrs. Mary Beard,
Editor *The Woman Voter.*

My Dear Mrs. Beard:

I am enclosing herewith article promised and hope that it will meet with your approval. Incidentally I might say that I want to be of substantial service to your cause during the present session of the Legislature and shall welcome any suggestions that you care to make.

Yours for social progress,

Herbert M. Merrill.

PROTECTION?

THE objection which men offer against suffrage, arguing that women would be obliged to come into contact with the rougher element at the polls, is a good deal like the story of a boy who went with his little sister to buy some candy.

"Now, Sis," he said, upon reaching the store, "there's an awful lot of people in there; great, ugly people—and they might hurt you. Give me your money and I will buy the candy for you."

He went inside and bought a peppermint stick because *he* liked peppermint best. "Well, Sis, here's your candy," he said when he came out; "but I had to get peppermint."

"Oh, I hate peppermint!" she cried. "You know I hate it, and you have gone and spent my penny!"

"Oh, well, I kept them great, ugly people from seeing you, any way," he commented in a perfectly satisfied way as he munched the peppermint stick of candy.

Renice Radcliffe.

EVOLUTION AND THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

By Frances E. M. Roberts.

THE special aims and objects of the Woman Movement in all its phases have been widely discussed by fair and unfair interpreters in press and periodical, but I shall try to present it as I see it to-day, not as a curious and isolated fact, but as an imperative and natural outcome of something subconscious and greater than itself, an evolution, and, like all social movements thus viewed, it gains in interest, significance and importance.

The Woman Movement seems to be decidedly symptomatic of the times. It is only one phase of the expression of an evolving spirit, which in this Twentieth Century calls for more justice, more freedom, a fuller development for all men.

Was it not this spirit that spoke in the separation of Church and State in France? In the dethronement of monarchy in Portugal? That speaks in the "unrest in India?" In the labor movements the world over, as well as in peace congresses, in social settlement clubs, in the laymen's missionary movement. These surely are all voicing in different ways a great world-cry for more happiness, for a greater freedom for all men, though many still are as "children crying in the night, children crying for the light and with no language but a cry."

Yes, when we stop to consider the deeper meaning of this world-cry, we realize that it spells "Evolution." We see in it a new realization of Self, its powers, possibilities and responsibilities, and with this, to those who realize it most, has come a fuller revelation of their duty towards their needy neighbor. The cry comes from the same old hungry human heart, but hungry in this Twentieth Century for newer and better things! So in their last analysis, the present loud sounding, discordant notes of our world-clamor spell "progress" and the evolution of the individual, and the signs are that the earnest woman social-worker is not the least evolved; though her methods sometimes seem extreme! Is it not fair to say though that these methods are most condemned and disapproved by those who, from apathy, ignorance of the facts, or from the whir of the social merry-go-round, have been prevented from feeling the acute world-travail of this Twentieth Century? Whose hearts have not yet throbbed to the passionate cry of the children for the light?

It is men and women of a wider understanding and more human imaginative sympathy who to-day are impelled forward over the conventional hedges. It is they who feel intensely the great contrast between rich and poor, so apallingly emphasized since the triumph of machinery—the rich too rich, and the poor too poor, for the physical or moral good of either. They feel as though they themselves were the victims of it, the spiritual and moral degradation that follows on the heels of starvation-diets, sordid, unsanitary surroundings and overworked bodies. And with a burning sense of this within them they have been willing to give up lives of ease, as earnest men have done. Nay, have been impelled forward—stumbling, 'tis true, as they go over the walls of prejudice, custom and previous education, that they may give at any cost a lift to the tired toilers by the wayside.

To these *service* is the badge of brotherhood and they believe that education and opportunity but lay a deeper obligation upon all who profess the unity of mankind. Thus they set a new human standard of moral-evolution in approaching nearer to the divine interpretation of man's duty towards his neighbor, and by making the widest application of the word "neighbor."

If, as some one has said, "life is judged by what its virtue makes it dare," then the lives of these progressive women judged by this standard will not be found wanting.

Just here it might be remarked that, as the keynote to the activities of the woman social worker to-day, is "altruism," even the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women need not be anticipated with alarm!

New Zealand, Australia, Finland and Norway have already granted this right to them and so far no disaster has been reported! On the contrary we hear of general improvement both in the conduct of elections and in the laws affecting women workers. We read, for instance, that the first thing the women of Norway did with their ballots was to get the Government to start schools of domestic training for girls. These schools are to teach girls to become efficient and capable wives and mothers. Every one will allow that this will do more than perhaps could be done in any other way to raise the general standard of living and it was a suggestion that came naturally from a woman. But let it be noted that this pivotal reform did not receive Government support 'till the Norway women had the Parliamentary vote! To the careful observer this does not

suggest that woman-franchise and home-wrecking are synonymous terms!

It is along these educational and moral lines that woman's interest and energies are being focussed to-day. She is occupied with subjects and conditions for which she has a peculiar aptitude, being fitted both by nature and experience to understand them. With these considerations in view, surely even the bogey of Parliamentary franchise disappears, or assumes no longer such terrifying proportions.

But if woman's changed attitude towards social relations denotes evolution, none the less, does the attitude of man to-day towards the Twentieth Century woman. A country's standard of civilization is revealed, it is said, in its treatment and conception of woman. It follows that this is also an excellent test of the development of the individual man.

What centuries of evolution in spiritual insight lie between the conception of women as held by the fathers of the early church and that voiced by some of the representatives of Christianity to-day! Chrysostom calls woman "a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic peril, a deadly fascination and a painted ill!" What a character to live down! What a wall of prejudice to surmount! St. Jerome spoke of marriage as at best a vice. "All that we can do is to excuse and tolerate it;" but Tertullian was much stronger in his declaration that "Celibacy must be chosen though the human race perish." The Church proclaimed woman unfit to receive the Eucharist in her naked hands, forbade her to approach the altar, and taught that she was a temptation in man's way to try him! This in spite of the Biblical declaration that God made woman to be a helpmeet for man, that Christ attended the Marriage Feast at Canaa of Galilee; and that "man is born of woman!" The glaring contradiction of this conception of woman, too, with the church's teaching of Mariolatry, so plainly evident now, was apparently not perceived by even the educated ones of that day.

The lay-view was naturally colored, rather discolored, by that of the Church and, as is always the case, by the economic conditions of the times; so we read that in France when feudalism was at its height "the birth of a daughter was considered a calamity from the Sovereign downwards. Louis XI, who refused even to admit into his presence his daughter, Jeanne de Valois, during the first four years of her life, and ferociously struck at her with his sword when she chanced one day to come into his view, represents in an exaggerated form the sentiments of the peasant who if he had no sons would say: 'Je n'ai pas d'enfants. Je n'ai que des filles.' Feudal England did not express herself so strongly but a dowerless daughter was felt to be a heavy burden, and a daughter with a dowry was treated simply as a marketable commodity." ("Women in English Life," Georgina Hill.)

How inspiring, how hopeful for women—nay, for the human race, to glance at that benighted past, then listen to these words of a clergyman of to-day—the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas, of Nottingham, England: "We live, let us thank God, and rejoice that we live, at the opening of a new era of social reform. That being so, I want the women to be in it from the beginning. We need women's moral spirit and insight in all our most urgent social questions. On all the great human issues, the voice of women would be the deliverance of the higher morality of the nation. I do not want to see the politicians stir one step without women's comradeship in the enterprise. It is not merely that all social reform affects women as much as men, and often more, but that no such legislation can be wise and sound unless we have the advantage of the women's distinctive point of view right through from start to finish. From one point of view I do not care a pin whether women say they want or do not want to immerse themselves in politics. I would tell those women who wish to hold aloof that it is not a question of their personal liking or preference. It is a question of our common social necessity. We cannot get on without your assistance and you must be brought in. The country requires you, the cause demands you, humanity needs you, duty calls you. Whether you like it or not we mean to put a moral constraint upon you and to insist that you shall apply yourselves to those problems which are common human social problems that must be tackled and solved by men and women in joint comradeship and co-operation."

This indeed spells "evolution" and the men that make such calls and those who answer them are not in the rear-guard of civilization to-day!

The highest civilization, we take it, lies not in the attainment of ease and luxury but along the lines of moral development, which includes surely the highest interpretation of our duty towards our neighbor.

Evolution that seems ordinarily to crawl as the snail and sometimes to lie dormant in the chrysalis, has in this Twentieth Century become the winged butterfly bringing with it a new energy, a new hope and a new courage, and women, thank God, as well as men, are sharing in it. So both in retrospect and in outlook this seemingly extraordinary Woman Movement is an intensely interesting one.

CHATS WITH MEN ON VOTES FOR WOMEN

Objections to Woman Suffrage Are Illogical

WOMAN should be given the ballot because it is right, and also because it is inconsistent to refuse it to her.

You claim she is good enough to be your mother, for which you reverence her — pure enough to be your wife, for which you adore her —charming enough to be your sweetheart, for which you love her—sweet enough to be your sister, for which you protect her—but all these virtues are reversed when she talks of the ballot, and you say she is wholly incapable.

By what God-given right do you "lords of Creation" discriminate against women? You have been taught chivalry from the cradle—a yielding to the wishes of women. You have been taught by your mothers and sisters to anticipate their every wish—to love and protect them. This also you promise to do when you wed your wife; but after she is yours, and she develops an interest in public questions, and expresses her belief in the progressive subject of the ballot for women, you have no qualms of conscience in refusing to consider it for a moment. Where has your professed chivalry gone? You who would gallantly pick up her handkerchief, were it to flutter from her hand—even humiliate yourself by carrying a package for her, if you found her burdened by one, even as light as a featherweight—or would carry your umbrella over her, even though you might catch all the drippings on your new Fall suit—and would smile and talk through it all and tell her at parting, when she sweetly thanked you, that it was a pleasure; yet, oh, how you would, and do growl, roar and gesticulate, and even use Sunday-school words very vehemently, on weekdays, when this same woman expresses a wish to walk to the polls, and cast her ballot for the next president. Would it not be just as pleasant to walk beside her on the way to the ballot-box? Or perhaps you had never thought of it in that way! You might go part way at least, for I am sure woman will be just as social a creature as ever, though perhaps not so gushing and dependent as of old.

But, my dear men, do you think the ignorant, dependent and clinging creature of the past is half so charming as the bright, capable, independent—but still loving—woman of to-day? Is it not true that the woman who understands the world as it is, understands a man's nature more truly, understands his temptations, his burdens, and his vexatious problems, and can sympathize and help more effectually, because of this understanding? Therefore, I say, do not make the mistake of restricting her, or of placing one little hindering straw in the way of her mental development, for she is now not the full-blown rose—but the partially opened bud which has been retarded in its development by a lack of sunshine and rain. Why be afraid of her fuller blossoming? Because the bud is so delightful, would you keep it always a bud? As sensible would be the mother who would keep her baby always in the infantile stage. Do with the dear woman as the mother does with the infant—nourish her in both mind and body, and in every way possible stimulate her to increased effort, that she may develop into a perfect woman.

Another reason that women should be given the ballot is, that the majority of men object to their having it. Now, does not that prove that you are afraid of their getting on "the inside?" There may be but one reason, and there may be several. I am strongly convinced that there are several reasons, chief of which is, that she will unearth some pretty filthy places, which man—dear man—has tried to keep hidden, and so he will lose prestige in her sight.

Men love to be worshipped—now, don't you?—and women have worshipped you for centuries, even when they knew you were only common, everyday idols of clay. Many times, no doubt, they have only pretended to worship, knowing you dear men expected the worshipful attitude at least—and they have tried to please you, because their lives depended on it.

You men like to have a world all to yourselves —now, don't you?—where you may relax—and where you may allow the predominating animal of your natures full sway—whether it be the rough character of the bear, the blood-thirstiness of the wolf, the roaring of the lion, the slyness of the fox, or the selfishness of the hog—or of all combined—or more.

It is difficult, and well nigh impossible, for the average man to live up to what his mother, sister, sweetheart or wife thinks he is, or should be—honest, now, isn't it? So you want business and the home separated—widely separated—so you may practically have two worlds in which to live—one in which you can do all the things you would rather do, and the other in which you may atone for the doing of them, by posing as the noble man that your feminine folk think, or hope you are.

Men know that when women mingle fully and freely in the business world these illusions are destroyed, and they see them as they are; and learn their whole nature rather than a small part; for they find them off-guard—true, isn't it? This is what you object to—this unmasking before the woman. You do not want her to know that you use "damn"—and often stronger words so freely, for you leave those trimmings off in the sacredness of your home.

You do not want her to know that you often lose your temper and "cuss out" some one of your employees.

You do not want her to know any of the hundred-and-one things that you are inclined to, and often do, when in the company of men only; neither do you want to be constantly under the restraining eyes of a good woman, who is bound to discover your tricks, unfair schemes or graft.

If women mix in politics as freely as they have in business, men are afraid there will be no way of escaping the ever-present woman—no one to whom they can longer pretend, nor any one who will worship at their shrine as in the past; and if, perchance, a woman should, they would fear she were only pretending, or had designs on their purse, or fame—or perchance that she were only tired of her job, and was on a still hunt for an unprotected, susceptible man who would present her with a home. The only way of escape you see is to leave the job entirely to the woman—if she finally gains the ballot, after all your protests—and stay at home with the baby. You could still be something in the baby's eyes, and perhaps you might impress the cook—or maybe the cook would be a man, too—well, there would still be the baby. But no, if women get into politics with both feet, men don't believe there will be any more babies—and if no babies, no home.

The world will just be turned into one vast area of hotels and boarding-houses—and the home will be relegated to the past.

Men will lose all their jobs, because women will crowd them out. Poor things! You think you will have to don petticoats, feathers, frills, false hair, corsets, French heels, paint, powder and puffs, along with all other abominations and luxuries you have so long conceded to the fair sex; and wrestle with pots and pans in the kitchen, attend babies in the nursery, darn socks, sew on buttons, cuddle wifie when she returns from the office with a grouch or a headache, have a splendid dinner ready, and smile, and smile—and keep sweet as an angel through it all. No wonder you are frightened at the picture! And the contrast! Wifie, free from her shackles at last, clothed comfortably in loose trousers, suspended from her shoulders over an easy-fitting shirt; a sack coat, a hat devoid of feathers or other monstrosities and free from dangerous stabbing pins, fitted to a head of closely-cropped hair, with comfortable low-heeled shoes on her feet, striding away in the morning, wearing an Heavenly expression and puffing a fragrant cigar, which you are denied. No wonder you protest! No wonder you object to the ballot for women! No wonder you fight the question—with such a pipe-dream constantly before you! Poor, short-sighted men! So you argue; but there is something sadly wrong with your logic. CLOA FULLER.

WOMAN AND CURRENT TOPICS.

A PROMINENT "ladies' weekly" published in London complains that "this season there's nothing to write about." An intelligent men's paper expresses surprise at this, and with ample reason.

The cultivated and thoughtful women of England doubtless resent the statement. Certainly American women, whether of the suffragist or anti-suffragist sisterhood, would consider it an insult and libel.

Nothing to write about? Is there anything human that is alien to the modern woman? Are not the topics which clamor for space in "men's papers" also topics of interest to women? What about the tariff, the cost of living, war, rebellion, arbitration, social reform, good government, marriage and divorce, domestic science, education, the drama, literature, art?

The world was never more various and exciting than it is to-day. Topics? The cable and telegraph and telephone bring them to the live office by the score. The women who find their "organs" dull this season will find plenty of moving, absorbing and stimulating matter in the papers that are published for all, regardless of sex, class, set or previous condition of isolation and ignorance.—Chicago *Record-Herald*.

The Woman Voter

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF AND PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

A Union for political work of existing Equal Suffrage organizations in the City of New York

Mrs. MARY R. BEARD, Editor

Published monthly at 1 Madison Avenue, New York City

Subscription price yearly, 50 Cents — Single copy, 5 Cents

Telephone 66 Gramercy — Advertising rates on application

Entered as Second Class Matter at New York, N. Y. Post Office

THE women of Albany have been treated this Winter to a series of revolting revelations of the alliance between politics and vice in their own city. The *Times-Union* has bared the facts in full and there is no longer any excuse for Albany women's ignorance of the conditions about them. Of course, leading citizens have publicly declared that, owing to the corruption among politicians, no decent man can afford to have anything to do with politics. We decry such logic. We hope that the gentle-hearted women of Albany will see their duty in the matter more clearly and make ready to enter the arena where their sisters struggle in the grip of poverty and its attendant vicious influences and where their bodies are held so cheap. Now, if never before, the women of Albany ought to understand the suffrage movement and join in it to place themselves and their working sisters where their influence will be at least equal to that of political bosses. Their influence, in all that counts for anything real, can only be felt at the polls.

THE evidence taken by the New York Factory Commission is now being tabulated and recommendations for legislation are being considered. This is the first time in this State that evidence of such character and such scope has been sworn to by trustworthy witnesses. Sessions have been held in Buffalo, Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Schenectady and Troy as well as in New York City, and 235 persons have testified. Fire chiefs, health officers, factory inspectors, trade unionists, and special investigators, such as the Child Labor Committee, have been heard. The extent and degree of the evils under which the workers of New York suffer as thus revealed are almost incredible and the public awaits definite remedial action with impatience. It is certainly a sad commentary on fair play by men that all the widows, working women, wives and mothers should be unable to have a voice in legislative proposals when they are the keenest sufferers from the prevailing conditions.

THE decision rendered a few days ago in the Asche fire case has left women workers in the factories of New York in a condition of hopelessness which is pitiful to observe. The great majority of places in which young women are employed as operatives in this city are equally or more unsafe than the Triangle shop and the responsibility for better conditions seems to be placed nowhere. This is apparently a case of masculine protection and chivalry of which we hear so much. Surely working women can see now the truth of the contention that their next step is political.

RECENT happenings in the trade-union world, such as the McNamara case, have led to a wide discussion of the comparative value of political and industrial action as a solution of labor troubles. Some of the prominent labor leaders have stated that the incident teaches the lesson that strikes and militancy must be superseded by concerted political action by the workers. Other leaders still strongly maintain that industrial action is the only refuge of labor men. Some think the unions have been too law-abiding and that *sabotage* or guerilla warfare is the only hope of labor. Others place their faith solely in compulsory arbitration. All of this earnest discussion now going on is of the utmost interest to suffragists in that the power of the ballot is being held up for review in all parts of the country. It is unquestionably true that the thinking people of the United States are on the side of political action as the ultimate hope of democracy. These persons assert that the workers have never tried political action because they have voted mechanically without a realization of the power of the ballot. What humanity can achieve by the organized election and oversight of humanitarian representatives is the vision to-day which is inspiring men and women the world over and it is for that reason that women are demanding a share in this great constructive work which must affect them so vitally.

Don't forget that *Judge* is running a Votes for Women page each week. Express your appreciation by letter and send to that paper suggestions and copy. Also buy *Judge* or subscribe. See that your friends throughout the country learn about the stand taken by this weekly.

This number of *The Woman Voter* contains an article by the new Socialist assemblyman from Schenectady, Mr. Herbert Merrill. As Socialists everywhere stand for equal suffrage, we felt it would interest our readers to have the point of view of the first of their representatives to be elected to the New York Legislature. The next

article in our series on public issues of the day will be from the Republican point of view.

The weekly letter issued by the Press Committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association is one of the most interesting bulletins in existence. It gives a splendid review each time of the progress of the woman movement all over the world and great credit is due Miss Caroline Reilly for this work.

CONSIDERABLE excitement was caused a fortnight ago by the announcement by Mr. Julius Harburger that he was going to appoint several women as deputy sheriffs to serve upon special calls. Of course, The Woman Suffrage Party lost no time in securing the promise that at least one of their women be appointed and the position was obtained for our active and efficient organizer, Miss Cornelia Swinnerton. Word soon came, however, that legal advice had led to the abandonment of the scheme by Mr. Harburger. There was little confidence on the part of the women from the beginning for the reason that disfranchised persons stand little chance of holding positions of public trust and responsibility in the community. Women are citizens when it comes to paying taxes, but not when it is a matter of the making or enforcing of laws. We are trying to be made citizens in the full sense in 1913. If we succeed, we shall seriously enter the field as guardians of our young girls and boys.

COURAGE is not a characteristic of the "antis." Neither is consistency. They are always telling us what dire things would happen if women were enfranchised, and surely nothing could help their cause (if mere negation can be a cause) more than a demonstration, in practice, of the dire results they prophesy. Now the women of California, after a heroic fight, won the ballot by a good, safe margin. Why is it not the part of decency and reasonableness for the "antis" to subside awhile and give equal franchise a fair trial? Why not let us all see in fact what they prophesy in theory? Why not let us look upon crumbling homes, ruined womanhood, chivalry dead, children neglected, and husbands enslaved? When the havoc begins, oral argument against suffrage will be unnecessary. It might be a little bit troublesome to California for awhile, but think of the immense value to all mankind to be derived from the experiment. But, no. The "antis" are raising money to secure an initiative petition to force another vote on woman suffrage before the women of California have become adjusted to the new political situation, and a few rich women of New York have contributed to this fund for the war on woman suffrage. The backers of this new move will have the support of organized vice, and the happy consolation of exhibiting a contemptuous disregard for fair play.

OUR advertising manager is finding that there are still in New York men and women in business who fancy that suffragists wear trousers, short hair, and no finery; that they never manicure or powder; that they are all poor and dowdy. She has been greatly surprised to be greeted by modistes and milliners with the positive statement that a corsetière is an unknown person in our midst or that our common headgear is a man's derby. It is an equal surprise to us to learn that our women are all emancipated from excessive toggery and the furbelows of swiftly changing fashions. Unfortunately too many suffragists still spend more time in shopping than in reading or suffrage activity and when our struggle is so great to get them to sacrifice a portion of that time to our work, it comes as a shock to learn that our women give no time to personal adornment. We are certain that our readers will marvel at the survival of this ancient caricature of suffragists and appreciate therefore the more the advertisers who have come to our rescue, knowing we have a vast purchasing power. Patronize our advertisers and *do it now.*

IF you really want this magazine to keep going, do two things: work for more subscribers, and buy some of the things advertised.

TEN new subscribers a district for February! Let this be our motto. A little effort will achieve the result.

THE Woman Suffrage Party will hold a Legislative Meeting in the Broadway Theatre on February 23d, at 3 P. M. Several of the legislators are expected to be present and address the meeting.

The Woman Suffrage Party owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Bernard Shaw for his gracious consent in granting us the right to produce *Press Cuttings* as a benefit. The Party is also indebted to Mr. Oswald Yorke for arranging for its production.

This month the selling price of *The Woman Voter* has been increased to ten cents, but the subscription price remains the same. At fifty cents for subscriptions, when a two-cent stamp must be affixed to every magazine mailed to names within New York County, the magazine becomes practically a gift and as no other magazine offers as much for the money, we feel that this step is necessary and will be generally approved.

THE UNION LABEL AND THE SUFFRAGIST

By Dora W. Davis

DURING the Pittsburg Survey, an investigator asked a box manufacturer how his girls lived on the wages paid them. "Ah! You see," he complacently replied, rubbing his hands together, "we try to employ girls who are members of families, for we don't pay the girls a living wage in this trade."

Upon the heels of this baldly benevolent declaration, came the discovery that most of the employers of women in that city shared the attitude. No less than three-fifths of the 22,185 working women of Pittsburg between the ages of fourteen and fifty, were earning less than $7 a week. Only one-fifth were earning $8 or above. Yet $7 was found to be the lowest living wage in Pittsburg. Nor are conditions in that city exceptional: the United States census investigation shows that the average wage of the working women of this country is $270 a year, or about $5 a week; and in this low average, the salaries of professional women are included.

Yet women are working presumably to earn their living. In many families, to be sure, there is a male head. But no man to-day, outside of the wealthier groups, proposes to himself that the women of his household shall be brought up in dependent idleness. No man's wage is proportioned by an employer to the number of minors and women in the family. Nor have the women proposed idleness for themselves to-day or in the past. Before the industrial revolution, women, with their spinning, weaving, and garment making; their carpet and broom industries; their tallow candles, and other household products, contributed as much to the economic support of the family as did the men. Most of the women in the homes to-day are inaccurately classed by the census bureau as non-producing, whereas they have merely changed the form of their economic contribution. Once it was woman's just share to work up in the home the raw materials which the man produced or secured by bartering his comparatively small income or wages. To-day, the man's income or wage is larger; the women, for whom occupation still remains in the home, with the manual work of her home-keeping lightened, finds it increasingly her contribution so to manage her household that there be no waste, and so to direct expenditures that as many as possible of the products formerly made in the home come there from the factories.

And the other women of the household for whom there is no longer economic need in the home—are they unwomanly in leaving? Rather, in following their work out of the home, they preserve the true womanly tradition: not to be idle.

Though many women wage-earners come from families where the male head is still working, there is a much larger group coming from "crippled" families; families where the husband, father, or brother, has met premature death, or has been industrially maimed. The excessive hours that these girls work to meet this responsibility, the paucity of their wage, the sacrifice both of themselves and of young children in seeking that wage out, the underfeeding and the overcrowding, the lowered standards of comfort and decency, are things not pleasing to contemplate.

Such were the larger proportion of the 144 girls who met death in the Triangle disaster, unquestionably a typical group of working girls in this city. One of them, for instance, had an invalid step-mother and two small brothers. Being a very quick, expert worker, she was paid $10 a week. Her step-mother held the nominal position of janitress of two adjacent tenements. The girl used to get up every morning to do part of the janitor's work before going to the Triangle factory. On her return, she did the rest. Besides that, she sat up late at night to make the clothes for the family.

What irony can be found more bitter than this: that woman, who, before the days of the industrial revolution earned her living and helped support the family, should, after the revolution, be denied the right to receive what we cannot question that she earns—a living wage?

Nor is the failure to pay a living wage the only economic injustice that working women must meet. Unnecessary industrial death—what shall be said of a country where 144 deaths from industrial accidents occur daily, exactly the number that occurred in the Triangle fire, and five times as many proportionally as are killed in industry in England?

Of course, anything less than the living wage is artificial. The difference must be made up somehow, for these people exist. Charity, the almshouse, the hospital, the penitentiary, the prison, the sweated industry of the tenement house, child labor, prostitution—these tell the pitiful tale of the expedients wherewith the discrepancy is met. And the burden of all this falls upon society as well as upon the individual concerned.

From this problem, suffragists should not avert their eyes to-day. To-morrow, it will stare them in the face when the ballot is theirs, and their voice heard in the Legislature. Already the women of New Zealand have faced it squarely. There a minimum wage in all industries abolishes an artificially low wage, and industrial compensation lightens the burden of the survivors. There a judge recently ruled that an industry which does not pay the women a living wage is a parasite upon society at large. The owner of the match factory in question was ordered to pay such a wage or to dissolve if he had not the business ability and energy to operate without militating against the welfare of the community. "The souls and bodies of the young women of New Zealand are of more importance than your profits," said the judge. "It would be better to send the whole match industry to the bottom of the ocean, and go back to flints and fire-sticks, than to drive young girls into the gutter."

In the economic gap which now confronts the women of the United States and England, stands the trade union. Unions for men have been in existence since the early part of the nineteenth century. But those for women are a part of the world-wide movement from which the suffrage agitation has sprung, and the two are contemporaneous in age. Their slogan is the rallying cry of the Women's Trade Union League: "The eight-hour day, a living wage, to guard the home." In these unions are women already trained in organization; informed on the conditions of the 6,000,000 and more women wage-earners; effective in adopting the means to an end; firm upholders of democracy; insistent on their rights as women to be heard on the industrial problems which confront them in their shops. It is these women who will insist upon steady employment, industrial compensation, abolition of child labor, an eight-hour day, the living wage, and the other social reforms outlined by the Woman Suffrage Party.

For suffragists, the great opportunity of today is to stand by these industrial groups organized to work for their rights as women and workers. Undoubtedly a most tangible way of doing so is to discriminate, when making purchases, between goods made in the tenements by under-paid women and children, and goods made by women unionists under the best possible conditions existing in their trades. To differentiate such goods, union labels have been devised.

To buy an article without a label means not that the purchaser is helping the non-union woman, but that she is keeping her poor. For the non-union woman has no way of insisting upon a living wage, and the difference in the price which she receives for her work and the price the consumer pays will continue to go into the pockets of the middleman and retailer. Women's chiffon collars, for which the tenement worker is paid seventeen cents a dozen, will still retail at $6 a dozen in the store; Irish crochet collars, which women are paid $1.75 apiece for making, will continue to retail at $18 apiece. To patronize a label will give a stronger incentive for the women workers to organize, and a more just distribution of the price paid for an article by the consumer.

Is the suffragist the real destroyer of the home?

The union label guarantees that, in the trade where it is used, the women are legislating for themselves in conference with the employer; that the women themselves are united in trying to approximate the eight-hour day, sanitary conditions, and the living wage. Particularly in buying articles of apparel is it essential to become our sisters' keeper that the badly sweated industries be driven from the tenements, and homelife be made possible. Already the union label can be obtained on shirt-waists, lingerie, silk and woolen dresses; hosiery; knit underwear; coats and raincoats; kid gloves; belts; tailor-made suits; shoes;

bread; flour, and brooms. And for men, the label can be obtained upon many more articles. For information as to where labelled goods can be bought, the Chairman of the Label Committee of the Women's Trade Union League may be addressed.

The cause of one woman is the cause of all. To neglect the concern of the working woman to-day will mean still more injustice to remedy when the ballot comes to-morrow.

THE STRIKE OF THE LAUNDRY WORKERS

FOR several weeks workers of New York from steam laundries and some 200 hand laundries have been out on strike for better working conditions, including shorter hours and higher wages. Among their modest demands has been a request that women be given separate dressing rooms.

Anyone who visits the strike headquarters is struck by the unusually worn-out appearance of the women, even as compared with other working women. Tales of hard usage are almost incredible, had we not just heard the evidence submitted to the Factory Commission of the conditions of labor all round. The character of this work, the protracted hours of labor, the absence of good drinking water or chairs were facts brought out in the hearing before the State Board of Arbitration. It is clear, also, that the labor law has been grossly violated.

There is a rather uniform story of how wages have been going down among laundry workers. The piece work system in vogue adds to the misery of the situation. Of course, widows with little children to support—women who have never learned skilled kinds of work—compose a large body of these workers. Unfortunately they know all too little of the practical value of organization and of such political matters as the enforcement of child labor laws, a minimum wage or an eight-hour day. The union, in spite of this fact, has grown from 500 to 4,000 members and it is putting up a brave fight.

There is no work in New York more pitiably underpaid, more health destroying, and there is little consolation in the fact that a doctor may be in constant attendance during the hot Summer months. That the conditions of their labor should demand the regular presence of a doctor is deplorable in itself. This is a situation where women's work having been taken from the home, those from whom it has been taken must get a feeling of responsibility about those who now undertake it for them and help them in their struggle for a higher standard of living. To do so, they must come together: one to say what laws she needs and what kind of inspection; the other to help both get the political power with which to pass laws.

It is no solution for a woman to resolve to have the work done again at home. We cannot go back with any success to home industries. We must, on the contrary, go into politics to deal with the evils under which the workers suffer.

ONE FACT ANSWERS

AN argument frequently made by our friends, the anti-suffragists, male and female alike, is that women do not need the ballot, do not need to have any voice in the making of those laws under which they live, move and have their being. Men will and always have done the best for them of which the era would permit; in man's chivalry lies woman's safety. The advocates of this favorite argument point with pride to certain factory and property laws. "What more could women do for themselves," they ask. It is men's business to protect women; they do not need to protect themselves.

Now, this is a very pretty plea and to those of us who have been so fortunate as to be brought up under the care and guidance of a good father —and good fathers are so many—it is not without a strong appeal. But there is one law upon the statute books which alone demonstrates its fallaciousness as conclusively as though it were a problem in Euclid—smashing that charming theory as a sledge-hammer smashes an egg-shell: the law which a short time ago permitted the release of Frank Beach on two thousand dollars bail.

Here is the answer—the way man-made laws protect women. Had Beach been accused of the lesser crime of killing a human being, there could have been no question of bail; but indicted before the Grand Jury for a criminal assault on one young girl, he was turned loose on two thousand dollars bail. Think of it, you mothers—two thousand dollars! Had not the assault been "aggravated" by highway robbery, the amount might have been less. He was turned loose upon the community among whom he, encouraged no doubt by the extremely lenient treatment he had received, soon found another victim. That, after reading the pitiable, terrible story of Agnes Waugh, the people of this city—yes, and of this State—did not rise up as one person and demand the swift trial, and, were he proved guilty, the speedy and adequate punishment of the criminal,

is a blot upon their good name that can be wiped away only by a hearty and unanimous insistence that the law which permits so iniquitous a proceeding as the liberation of a creature, more dangerous than any wild beast, be changed without loss of time.

Were every other plea in favor of woman suffrage conclusively and justly replied to in the negative, this one case would sufficiently demonstrate that it is a necessity. From age to age, for generation after generation, the one thing man has required of woman is that she hold her "honor" inviolate. That gone, she has no right or title to respect, hardly to decent treatment; she becomes an outcast, the lowest of the low. Even while denouncing suicide as one of the worst of crimes, the Church in the dark ages found it difficult not to make an exception in favor of the woman who preferred death to dishonor. Let such a thing as happened to Alma Sopaner, and to Agnes Waugh happen to the sister, child, or wife of any manly man and however law-abiding a citizen he may be under ordinary circumstances, the chances are nine out of ten that he will be ready to head a punitive party. But let the victim be a stranger or a working woman and, by the voice of those laws he has helped to make, that same man pronounces release or bail just and right.

Do women need to vote? Trumpet clear, this one fact makes answer.

LOUISE MANSELL FIELD.

Even while they are agitating for the suffrage, women are making their influence felt along humanitarian lines. *The American Club Woman* for January tells the story of some of their endeavors and of their hope that the weapon so necessary to them in constructive social work may soon be theirs all over the United States.

The Equal Franchise Society has decided to devote itself to educational work, feeling, as it does, that in order to be an intelligent suffragist one must not simply believe in suffrage, but must understand the economics, history and theory of democracy, upon which the Woman Suffrage Movement is based.

A free circulating library and reading-room, to which any one who is interested in this subject may be directed and where intelligent librarians will aid them in their study, has therefore been undertaken. The library will contain not only the suffrage literature, but the anti-suffrage literature as well.

A clubroom is to be established for the members of the society in connection with the free library. Here the president, assisted by members of the board, will have informal days at home, in which courses of reading will be suggested, addresses made and questions answered. The clubroom will also be an especially pleasant reading-room where members may read the books and pamphlets from the circulating library.

THE CRY OF THE WOMEN WORKERS

WHATEVER our masters' choice is,
Whether for greed or lust,
Always our masters' voices
Clang out the great word *Must!*
Always on us the world bears
Though we have never our say,
Cradled and wrecked in the darkness,—
Daring to dream of the day!—
On our necks lie the collars,
Our eyes are dry with dust;
Through us they grind their dollars
And fling us back our crust.
But what have we for happiness?
Dear God, is the balance just?

Cradled and wrecked in the darkness!
Too long have we felt the sway
That our masters claim by their ancient law,—
Let them show us the right of their way!
But here is the answer they give us
When we meet them face to face:
"If you don't like your work and your wages
There are plenty to take your place;
Get out and make room for the others—
It's easy enough to go!"
They talk as if *we* were the choosers—
But the working women know!

Cradled and wrecked in the darkness,
Dreaming the light to come!
Too long have we dreamt in silence,
Too long have our lips been dumb!
Not ours are the laws that bind us
To ends we know not of,
Not ours the years behind us
That shackled us for love,
Not ours our masters' chivalry
For which our blood is paid;
But ours to break the bondage
Their sovereign wills have made!
And till they set us with them
And bring the new day in,
And give us power to help them
To purge the ancient sin,
Oh, let us stand together,
For the fight is still to win!

SWINBURNE HALE.

What are you doing for THE WOMAN VOTER?

MARY SHAW TO ACT IN HER OWN PLAY

A FAMOUS actress has written a suffrage play. Mary Shaw's stage career is well known. For years she acted with Madame Modjeska and with Joseph Jefferson. Then at the head of her own company she presented a number of Ibsen and Shaw plays.

In spite of the demands of a successful career, Miss Shaw has always found time to work for the woman's cause, both by lecturing and by magazine work.

The play, "An Impressionistic Sketch of the Anti-suffragist," is a skit on the foibles and follies of the women who do not believe in woman suffrage. The author, Miss Shaw, was born a suffragist, her mother having been one of the old vanguard with Mary Livermore, and Julia Ward Howe. Miss Shaw used to go to Legislative hearings as a girl. She was at an impressionable age and brought away with her an idea of the types of the opposing women, and the weakness of their pleas. She always intended to set her impressions down in dramatic form, but long and continuous work on the stage left her little leisure to do so.

Although the play is a satire, the moral is an actual experience. Miss Anne Moore, with two friends, went to an anti-suffrage meeting where the three were converted to suffrage. This fact gave Miss Shaw the idea for the plot of her play. And this identical Miss Anne Moore will take the part of the convert in the play as acted February 2nd, while Miss Shaw will act Mrs. Grundy.

Two other new American suffrage plays to be acted the same evening are:

"The Perfect Lady," by Marie Jenney Howe and "The Last Trick," by Ida Rauh.

Miss Vida Sutton, Miss Ida Rauh, Mrs. Helen Griffiths, Mrs. Charles Caffin, Miss Esther Andrews, Mrs. Fred. C. Howe and several others will take part.

The plays will be acted in the main auditorium of the Metropolitan Temple, at 8 P. M. Tickets are on sale at Woman Suffrage Party Headquarters, 212 Metropolitan Life Building, 1 Madison Avenue. Admission, 25 cents.

MARY SHAW

The Woman Suffrage Party announces a benefit performance of Bernard Shaw's play, "Press Cuttings," to be given under the direction of Mr. Oswald Yorke, at the Broadway Theatre, Tuesday afternoon, March 5th. The caste will include Miss Harriet O. Dellenbaugh, Miss Beatrice Forbes-Robertson, Mr. Oswald Yorke, and others. The tickets will be on public sale at Room 212, Metropolitan Tower, after February 15th. Mail orders will be filled. Checks should be sent payable to Woman Suffrage Party. Address Benefit, Room 212, 1 Madison Avenue. Regular theatre prices will prevail.

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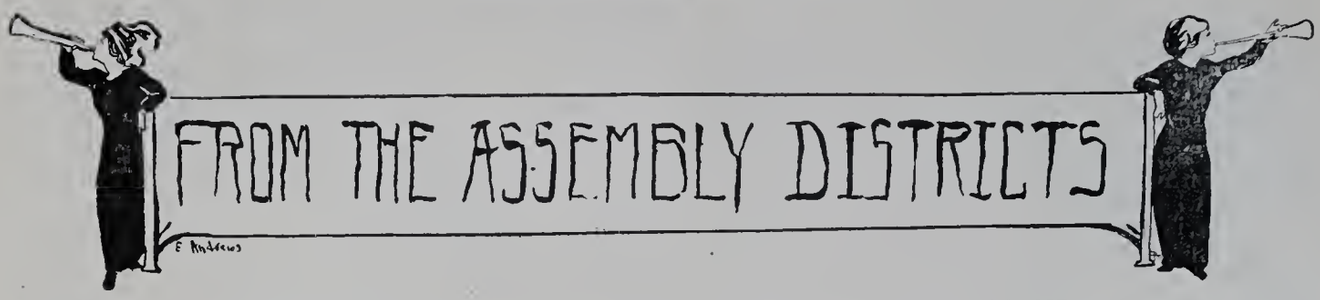

BROOKLYN.

A meeting in the 4th A. D. was held on January 18th, at St. John's Church, Bedford Avenue and Wilson Street. Mr. Welding Ring was chairman, and Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe and Mr. Robert Baker were the speakers. One hundred and fifty people were present, half of the audience being men, as the meeting was under the auspices of the Men's Club of the Church. Great interest was shown in the suffrage point of view.

On Tuesday, January 16th, at the Y. W. C. A., Schermerhorn Street and Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, members and friends of the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association met to listen to what might be called a members' program. The rooms were well filled, when at 3 P. M. the president, Mrs. Loines, called the meeting to order and announced that it was with no small degree of pride as well as pleasure that she presented the program of the day—inasmuch as it was entirely the work of our own members. Again Suffrage was the theme, under the general subject of Education—with Mrs. Martha W. Hooper, our first vice-president, chairman of the day.

"Current Suffrage Topics," as given by Mrs. Frank Melville, a comparatively new member, were crisp, terse, and to the point.

Mrs. Ellen L. Brockway, one of our charter members, took as her subject: "Methods of Work in the Early Days," and renewed the work from its earliest inception in Brooklyn, citing many interesting incidents of those early days—incidents associated with such names as Henry Ward Beecher, Leroy Stowe, Sojourner Truth, Mrs. Livermore, Henry Brown Blackwell, Mrs. Field, first president of the B. W. S. A., and others.

Mrs. Harriett T. Comstock, better known as Mrs. Philip Comstock, author and writer, an old member, recently returned to the fold, took up "Methods at the Present Time," and presented an able paper on this subject.

Mrs. Comstock's paper was in the nature of a review and criticism of a recent article by Prof. Childs, of Redding, England, which appeared in the *Hebbert Journal* on "Woman Suffrage—a Review and a Conclusion," and was most scholarly, full of original ideas and suggestions for more effective methods in suffrage work.

While very fair and just in her criticism of Prof. Childs, she is clearly at variance with him on many points, especially when he makes expediency the final test of the suffrage movement, and she claims right and justice as the supreme and only test.

Both papers were most excellent and called forth discussion, in which many took part.

Another unique feature of the program was the discussion of suffrage pamphlets which seem most valuable. Among those mentioned was one entitled, "Democracy Must be Lived," by Mrs. Comstock, who, upon request, read extracts from it, and told how she happened to write it.

At the close of the meeting tea was served during the social half-hour, which has been such a feature of the B. W. S. A.

MARGARET WRIGHT HAMPSON.

RICHMOND.

Two important suffrage meetings were held in this borough during January. On the 17th, the Philemon Club, of Tottenville, gave a suffrage program with Mrs. Minnie Reynolds as the principal speaker. Her subject, "How Woman Suffrage Works," was treated in a way that called forth from the audience such expressions as, "New light thrown on the subject"; "I've never heard any one tell of the practical side before"; "I'm sure if it works that way in Colorado, it ought to work well in New York." These remarks came from people who have never been inclined toward suffrage before. Miss Whitmore and Mrs. Willcox spoke on phases of the local work.

The next evening Mr. and Mrs. Willcox held a suffrage symposium at the Parish House of the Unitarian Church, New Brighton. Judge William Wood and Mrs. Suffren were the principal speakers. A large number of men were present, among them Assemblyman McKee. Many heard suffrage arguments for the first time.

Another public meeting is being arranged for an early date in February.

Besides these activities, clubs, schools, and other organizations are debating the subject, writing essays, or giving plays bearing on feminism in political and other phases.

EDITH M. WHITMORE.

THE BRONX.

The 34th Assembly District opened their permanent headquarters on Tuesday evening, January 16th, in the beautifully furnished and up-to-date Lodge Room Hall in the McKinley Square Theatre Building, Boston Road and 169th Street.

Every available seat was occupied by a most enthusiastic audience. Quite a large number of men were present, many of whom expressed themselves as most heartily in favor of woman suffrage. Mrs. A. C. Fisk, the borough chairman, was the principal speaker. Mrs. H. Secor-Tonjes, leader of the 34th A. D., has leased this hall for the year of 1912, not alone for her district, but it is open to all districts of The Bronx until the various district leaders can secure satisfactory headquarters for their own districts. Meetings will be held on the first and third Tuesday evenings of each month throughout the year. The formal opening will be on Tuesday evening, February 6th. A concert, both vocal and instrumental, will be given by artists of The Bronx, the various numbers being interspersed with suffrage greetings by our guests of honor, Mrs. W. W. Penfield, Mrs. M. W. Suffren and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw. A general invitation is extended to all our suffrage friends.

MRS. H. SECOR-TONJES.

QUEENS.

Mrs. Eno, of the 4th A. D. of Queens, opened her home to suffragists on January 3d and the eighty-five people present seemed eager to enroll in the Party, to buy and subscribe for *The Voter* and to wear buttons. The Berger Congressional petition was circulated. The speakers were Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. James Ecob, Miss Elizabeth Freeman, Mrs. Max Eastman, and Mrs. Cora Hamilton.

MANHATTAN

The 17th Assembly District of the Woman Suffrage Party had its first meeting of 1912 at the home of its leader, Mrs. W. J. Morton, 224 Riverside Drive, upon the afternoon of Tuesday, January 16th, from four until six o'clock. The gracious hostess opened the affair with an introduction of the speaker, Miss Elizabeth Freeman, who gave a most interesting account of her experiences in suffrage work in London and New York. The word picture of her prison confinement in London brought home to her hearers most forcibly the martyrdom, the suffering and the wonderful perseverance of the loyal women working for the woman suffrage cause in London. She seemed to move every woman in the audience, and often during her talk was an expression of strong approval given in hearty applause.

The double drawing-rooms and music-room were filled with members and their guests and not one but what seemed eager to catch every word that Miss Freeman spoke. So convincing were her arguments for suffrage and so lucid was her talk that the only "unconverted" were speedily won to the cause and at the close came forward and signed for membership—and all of the members signed the petition to the Legislature for woman suffrage.

Mrs. Rachel King was then introduced, and gave a short talk of her experiences in the cause in the Argentine Republic. After the questions from the audience had been answered by Miss Freeman, following the remarks by Mrs. King, the ladies were all invited to the dining-room, where dainty refreshments were served. Everything on the dining-room table suggested "Votes for Women." Across the paper napkins were those three words—the different wafers bore "Votes for Women" in raised letters—dainty sweet-meats of all kinds—lace doilies in yellow, and beautiful roses the same color—and tea and bouillon served in dainty Japanese cups in yellow, the Woman Suffrage Party color.

Subscriptions to, and sales of copies of *The Woman Voter,* the Party organ, were made during the afternoon. The next meeting will be upon Tuesday, January 23d, at four P. M., at Mrs. Morton's home, when Mrs. Minnie Reynolds will speak. On January 30th, at a similar meeting, Miss Edith Whitmore will be the speaker. All are welcome.

The 19th A. D. was very active during January, its first meeting being on the 4th, at the home of Mrs. Dora S. Thompson, 605 West 112th Street. This was the annual meeting of the District Club for the election of an Executive Board and reports of committees.

Monday, January 8th, at the home of Mrs. William R. Shepherd, 468 Riverside Drive, a conference was held of district captains, standing committees, and members of the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League, and William Lloyd Garrison Association, resident in the district.

January 17th, a public meeting took place in Duryea's Hall at which Mr. Gilbert E. Roe spoke of "The Woman Suffrage Movement from a Lawyer's Point of View," and Miss Gertrude Waldemar on "Woman Suffrage and the National Crisis."

A parlor meeting was held on January 26th in the afternoon at the home of Mrs. Florence Anderson, 240 West 104th Street, to arouse enthusiasm in the 2d Election District. Mrs. Marie Howe spoke to the neighborhood women on "Why I am a Suffragist." Mrs. Charles Guy also spoke.

The 20th A. D. began its activities with a meeting in the East Side House Settlement on December 29th. Miss Jeannette Rankin and Mrs. Buchhold, the leader, explained suffrage to the brave women who ventured to the meeting.

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And help to run the nation,
There is no doubt this rally shout
Will win by acclamation

LIPTON'S TEA

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The 15th A. D. had four successful "at homes" during January. "The Home Thrust" was presented by Mrs. Caffin and Mrs. Griffith during the month and it was most enthusiastically received, many guests asking to have it repeated. Ninety-one tickets were sold on this occasion. Miss Charlotte Lund sang on that evening and Mrs. Clarke very kindly put the piano which she has invented on display. Miss Vida Sutton also spoke. Mrs. Jessica Finch spoke at the club house on January 16th, and seven new members immediately joined the club. Miss Vida Milholland sang and Mrs. William Grant Brown presided. The presidents of the Political Study Club and the Women's Republican Club gave short impromptu talks. On January 23d, Mrs. Penfield and Mrs. Laidlaw were guests, and Mrs. Lowell T. Field furnished the music. On the 30th Mr. Israel Thurman will speak at the club house.

The first Tuesday in March the district announces that Mrs. Ida Husted Harper will speak at the club house, 120 West 81st Street.

The 21st A. D. members met at the home of Mrs. Albert Plimpton, 640 West 139th Street, on January 4th and converted several "antis" to the faith.

The 25th District held an open meeting in the Parish Hall of the Church of the Ascension, 12 West 11th Street, on January 11th. The speakers were Mr. Charles A. Beard, Miss Vida Sutton, Miss Inez Milholland, Mr. Max Eastman, and Mr. Swinburne Hale. Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe was Chairman.

The hall was crowded. Over 250 were present and a collection of $30 and 26 enrollments were taken. Resolutions to the senator and assemblyman were passed. Mr. Max Eastman made an appeal for members for the Men's League.

The 25th District has begun a series of suffrage teas for new members to further acquaintance and stimulate interest. New members in groups of 20 are invited to meet their captains and leader. The first of these teas was given by Mrs. F. C. Howe on December 12th. The second was given on January 13th by Mrs. J. D. Livingston. The third will be given to welcome into the 25th District Miss Elizabeth Freeman, who will give an informal talk. The hostess will be Mrs. Ernest Poole, 130 West 11th Street. Any member of the 25th Assembly District is welcome to attend this tea at Mrs. Poole's on the afternoon of Thursday, January 25th.

Fifteen assistant captains have been added to the list of 27 captains in the 25th Assembly District.

The permanent Dramatic Committee of the 25th District, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Caffin, has formed a club called "The Twenty-Five Players," and some splendid plays are being produced.

The 26th A. D. held a very successful meeting on January 4th at the People's Tabernacle, 54 East 102d Street. The speakers were Mrs. J. S. Laidlaw and Miss Elizabeth Freeman. Forty-two enrollments were taken and fifty *Voters* sold. A solo by Miss Hildebrand and a suffrage chorus added to the interest. A pleasant circumstance in connection with this event was the visit of Miss Uth, a teacher from Germany, who is a suffrage leader at home under Mrs. Fisher-Eckert. She is to speak of the work in her own country at the next meeting to be held on February 15th. At that time, the other speakers will be Miss Cornelia Swinnerton, Miss Caroline Lexow, Dr. A. Fine, of the district, and Mr. Harry Phillips, of London. Six new captains were recently added to this district.

Mrs. Otto Hahn, of 552 East 87th Street, will be the new leader in the 22d Assembly District. She is especially interested in educational problems and will bring a trained and thoughtful mind to bear upon her district work.

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Miss Ida A. Craft	25.00
21st A. D.—Mrs. M. Hirons	25.00
Mrs. Velma Swanston Howard	5.00
Mrs. Oliver Wells	5.00
Mrs. Otto Bauer	10.00
Miss Katherine Dreier	250.00
Mrs. Velma Swanston Howard	58.00
Miss Adelaide Youngman	5.00
	$5,236.19

MARY G. HAY,
Assistant Treasurer.

MR. JULIUS MAYER, formerly District Attorney, is about to be appointed as a Judge of the New York State Supreme Court by President Taft. At least Mr. Taft is being heavily pressed to make this appointment, although he has not yet definitely done so. The women of New York have about one week more in which to protest and they should do so for the reason that Mr. Mayer has a bad record in that the Newsboys' Act was nullified by him; on account of his decision on child labor in the canneries, excluding sheds from factory regulations; and because of his position about women's night work and the regulation of vice.

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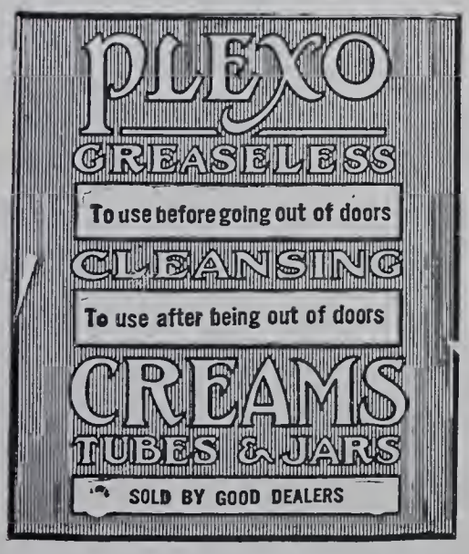

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HISTORICALLY speaking, education has been the monopoly of the classes rather than the heritage of the masses. In Western Europe schools originated at the courts of kings or in ecclesiastical institutions for the training of court scholars and priests. Out of these early schools grew the great universities of modern times. For centuries, however, the mediaeval curriculum was preserved in well-nigh dogmatic form as a sacred thing to be kept apart from the vulgar masses. As the middle classes of merchants, lawyers, and manufacturers arose and demanded admission to the universities, they were able to force their way into the colleges through the exclusiveness which the feudal aristocracy and clergy had thrown around their institutions. But the content of the educational program remained essentially mediaeval. The representatives of the middle classes looking with envious eyes upon the honorific attainments of their superiors were deterred from doing any educational thinking of their own for many generations. Finally natural science began to batter at the gates of the universities; but natural science, while incidentally of great utility in widening the horizon of "educationalists," was not itself more purposeful when viewed in relation to the great needs of struggling humanity. Its votaries as often regarded themselves as detached from the common struggle of the common people as did the votaries of the classics. The creed of natural science in many places became as barren of humane results as the creed of the classicists. From the point of view of democracy, both were generally speaking reactionary and opposed to every step in the emancipation of the masses from brutish ignorance and still more brutish class legislation and judge-made law. It was in the name of natural science that the dogma of the survival of the fittest was used as a club to beat down for generations every movement for state interference with the degrading and deteriorating process of competition. In fact it is only within our generation that the notion of education as an instrument preparing the people for self-government on the widest possible democratic basis has begun to win recognition. Our educational institutions are at present, for the most part, in a hopeless state of chaos, both as to purpose and methods. They still wear the outward signs of an inner state of repose and certainty (in fact only a covering for doubt, hesitation and fear); but it is not to them that we can look for real

(*Continued on page 35*)

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

January 31.—Henry Street Mothers' Club of the 2d A. D. A Jewish and an English speaker will be present.

February 1.—19th A. D. Large public meeting at the Parish House of St. Michael's Church, 225 West 99th Street, at 8.15. Speakers: Dr. Thomas C. Hall, Professor of Ethics at Union Theological Seminary; and Dr. Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University. Miss Marion Burritt will give her lantern lecture.

Mrs. Harper's lecture at the Headquarters of the State Woman Suffrage Association, at 3 o'clock, 180 Madison Avenue.

February 2.—Three suffrage plays, under the auspices of the Twenty-five Players of the 25th A. D. See page 28.

February 4.—Party meeting for 2, 4 and 8th Assembly Districts at Cristodora House, Miss

Tea at Women's Political Union, 46 East 29th Street, from 4 to 6.

February 5.—Meeting at St. Bartholomew's Church House. Speakers: Mrs. Laidlaw and Miss Freeman.

1st A. D. meeting at Richmond Hill House.

19th A. D. captains' meeting at home of leader, at 8 P. M.

27th A. D. captains' meeting at 20 West 33d Street, at 3 P. M.

Wage Earners' Suffrage League, at 212 Met. Tower, at 8.30 P. M.

February 6.—Meeting of William Lloyd Garrison League at State Headquarters, 180 Madison Avenue, at 3 P. M. Speaker: Mrs. Henry Robinson, of Yonkers.

Borough of Manhattan, executive meeting for Woman Suffrage Party, at 120 West 81st Street, at 8 P. M.

15th A. D. Club, at 120 West 81st Street, at 8 P. M.

February 7.—19th A. D. meeting with Mrs. E. O. Guilford, 620 West 116th Street, at 8 P. M.

27th A. D. meeting at 180 Madison Avenue, at 8 P. M.

February 8th.—Votes for Women Ball, under auspices of the Womens' Political Union, at the Murray Hill Lyceum, at 8.30. Tickets, 25 and 50 cents. Apply to 46 East 29th Street.

February 9.—27th A. D. captains' meeting, at 3 o'clock, at 20 West 33d Street.

February 11.—Tea at Headquarters of the Women's Political Union, 46 East 29th Street, from 4 to 6. All welcome.

February 12.—1st A. D. meeting at Richmond Hill House, at 8 P. M., Miss Elsa Neland presiding.

Wage-Earners' Suffrage League, at 212 Metropolitan Tower, at 8.30 P. M.

February 13.—15th A. D. Club meeting at 120 West 81st Street, at 8 P. M.

February 14.—Country market arranged by the State Woman Suffrage Association at 180 Madison Avenue.

13th A. D. meeting at 307 West 54th Street, at 8 P. M.

February 15.—Country market continued.

26th A. D. at People's Tabernacle, 58 East 102d Street, at 8 P. M.

February 16.—Convention of the New York State Suffrage Association for the revision of the Constitution.

(*Continued on page 37*)

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leadership and real guidance. They are in fact —particularly the universities—the ambulances of our civilization, telling us how to gather up the wounded and broken in the battle for civilization against poverty, disease, and emptiness of life. So far as they are positive they are negative—to say exactly what we mean. The day will come when the universities, state and private, will be viewed as the instrumentalities for research and guidance in the advancement of democracy. The time has not come yet—democracy must come first, and generally speaking, it will come in spite of organized learning, not lead or be inspired by it. In view of this state of affairs, the women in our colleges will do well to regard their formal education as a frail and tentative thing, to do their own thinking, and to seek contact with real life at as many points as possible.

From the *New York Times*, Sunday, February 27, 1870.

MR. MILLS' essay is attracting much attention in this country, and considering one fact, it is perhaps exerting more influence than it should. The fact in question is that the position of women in the United States is so far different from what it is in England that the inferences deducible from Mr. Mills' proposition as applied to the latter country lose much of their force in this. What for example constitutes the subordination of women in New York? Here a woman can hold and part with property, including real estate, in entire independence of her husband, can escape his control if he abuses her, can maintain views totally opposed to his own, and be upheld by public opinion in so doing, can preach, lecture, practice medicine, write to the newspapers, wear trousers, do almost anything in fact with few or none to challenge her caprices. There is something like perfect equality in this. But is it quite clear that American agitators for what are called women's rights, do not really seek inequality or discrimination in their favor? Socially speaking, women long have had and still enjoy just such an advantage. In no country of the world, at no period of history have women as a sex, been so much considered, deferred to, petted, indulged, nay, almost worshipped, as during the last half century in these states. Is it altogether wise to disturb this halcyon condition of things, and would not *quieta non movere* be a safer maxim for the sex than any more revolutionary one? We are told that women are improperly excluded from certain industrial vocations and doubt not that to some extent this is true; but it is no less so that in all but mechanical pursuits inferior work is constantly accepted with approval simply because the worker is a woman. Women have success as lecturers, readers, writers and actresses, that men of the same talent cannot command. We are perpetually invited to strain a point in criticising books or public performances because of the gentle sex of the author or artist. . . . . .

Is it not true, on the contrary, that nowhere else in the world have women in the aggregate had such opportunities for education and leisure as in the United States? Why, cultivated foreigners almost invariably dwell on the superior culture and elegance of American women over American men. The former are "more presentable," it is said, than their husbands and brothers. But these are qualities that mainly spring from more leisure and less work. . . . . Here, making all allowances for exceptional hardships, especially in the large cities, man is the draught horse who draws the great bulk of the load of responsibility; woman, although she may frequently lend a hearty pull, is scarcely expected to do so. . . . . .

Now is it unreasonable or ungenerous to propose that women at large should first show their ability to succeed thoroughly in domestic management—which all agree is their especial province—before inviting them to enter other avenues wherein, to many judgments their success is doubtful? Servants are better paid and do less work in this community than any other. Female servants in truth are like their betters of their own sex—exceptionally well off here. Are we to regard the miserable service of too many of our homes as evidence of the highest attainable tact, skill, industry and organizing power of our women? If so, it might be wise

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to pause before expecting from them more complex and difficult tasks. The servants are bad. True, a general can work best with good soldiers; but is it not a crowning merit to work well with bad ones. We believe in giving a respectful and attentive ear to all complaints of injustice, whether from one sex or race or another; but we venture with much deference to doubt whether the mental superiority that Mr. Mills would transplant to other fields has been, as yet, so clearly shown in that of domestic management as to warrant changes so grave as he proposes. There are laurels yet to be won in the home and by the fireside that will at least constitute no unbecoming preparative for triumph in wider spheres; and the subjection of women in our lower social strata is possibly not yet so complete as to justify the fear that irreparable wrong is being inflicted in limiting the scope of their sisters in the grades above.

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February 17.—Wage-Earners' Suffrage League at Terrace Garden, 145 East 58th Street, at 8 P. M.

Italian meeting at Kenmare Hall, 39 Spring Street, at 8.15 P. M. Music, lantern slides with lecture. Speakers: Mr. Arthur Caroti and Mr. Louis Cavallaro.

February 18.—Tea at Women's Political Union, 46 East 29th Street, from 4 to 6.

February 19.—1st A. D. meeting at Richmond Hill House, at 8 P. M.

Wage-Earners' Suffrage League, at W. S. P. Headquarters.

February 20.—1st Election District meeting in 19th A. D. at home of Mrs. Ethel McClintock Adamson, 215 West 101st Street, at 3.30 P. M.

15th A. D. meeting at 120 West 81st Street, at 8 P. M.

February 23.—Legislative meeting at the Broadway Theatre, at 2.30 P. M. Auspices of Woman Suffrage Party. Several members of the State Legislature to speak.

February 24.—Wage-Earners' Suffrage League meeting at 43 East 22d Street, at 8 P. M. Suffrage play, talk and social hour.

February 25.—Tea at Women's Political Union, 46 East 29th Street, from 4 to 6.

February 26.—Wage-Earners' Suffrage League at W. S. P. Headquarters.

1st A. D. meeting at Richmond Hill House, at 8 P. M.

February 27.—15th A. D. Club, at 120 West 81st Street, at 8 P. M.

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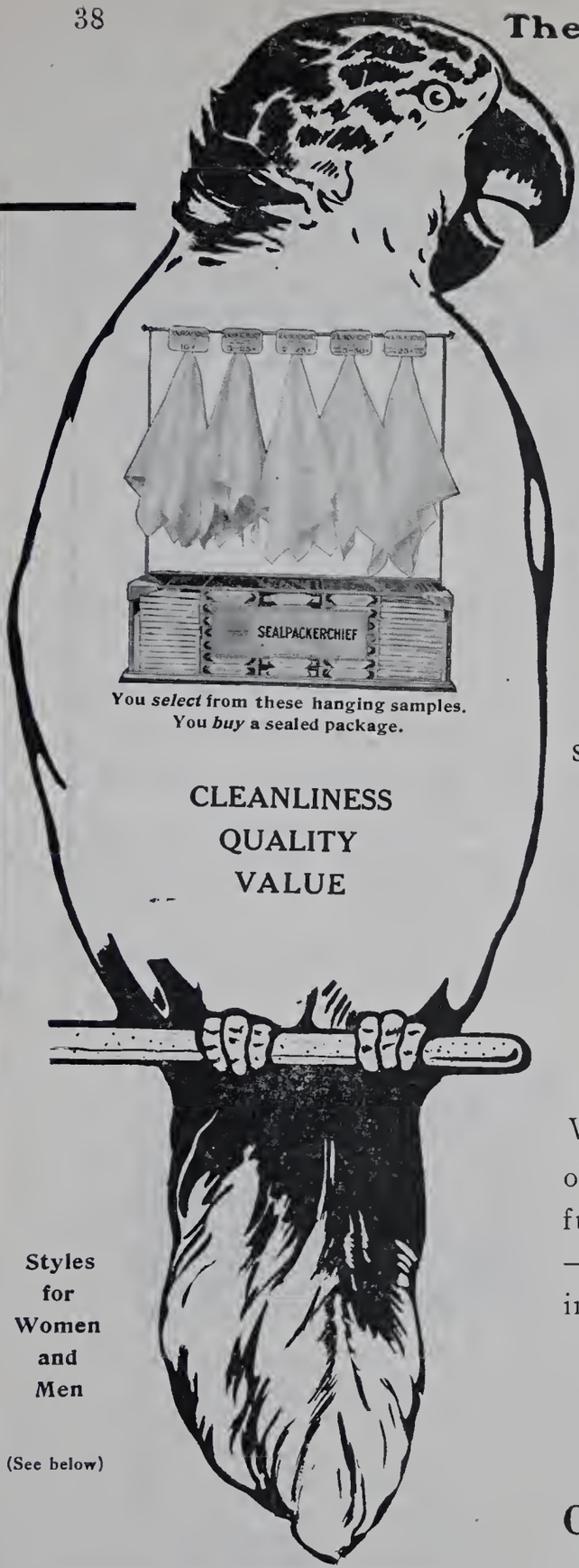

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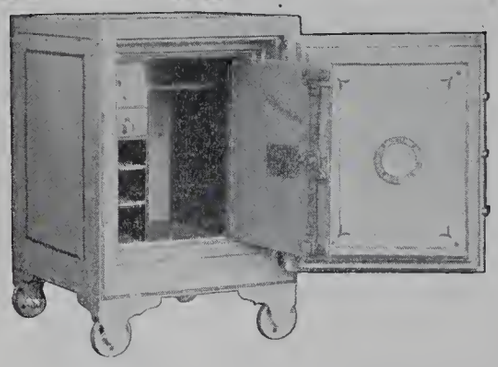

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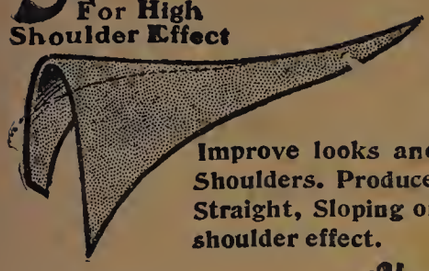

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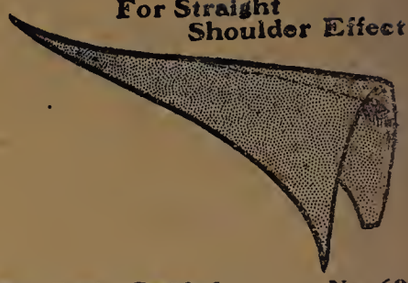

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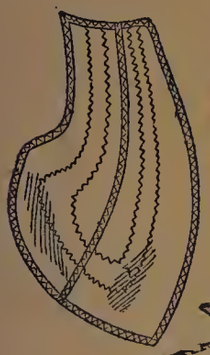

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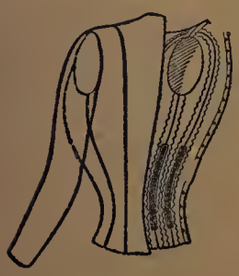

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